REPORT ON THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF THE ABORIGINAL TRIBES OF THE PROVINCE OF MADRAS

By

A. AIYAPPAN, M.A., PH.D.

Secretary, Aborignal Tribes Welfare, Enquiry Commitee

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Dr. R. Kannan, B.Com., M.B.A., CAIIB., B.L.,
M. Social Science (Birmingham, U.K.), Ph.D., IAS,
Commissioner of Museums,

Government Museum,
Chennai - 600 008.

PREFACE

The second edition of Dr. Aiyappan's "Report on the Socio-Economic Conditions of the Aboriginal Tribes of the Provinces of Madras" published in 1948 ran out of stock about a year ago. The need for reprinting this volume was keenly felt especially in view of the persistent demand for the copies from scholars and the public.

The Aboriginal Tribes Welfare Enquiry Committee, constituted in 1946 prepared this report. A questionnaire was issued by the Committee and the answers were received from 48 persons during a tour of Chingleput, Nellore, Guntur, Krishna and East and West Godavari districts by the Committee.

The report does not strictly follow the order of the subjects as given in the terms of reference, though most of them have been covered. It has not been possible to cover in great detail the customs, habits, mode of worship and marriage laws. At a certain stage it was felt that the terms of reference should be revised as they were too wide to be covered in the course of a few months. But this was not done. The sociological inquiry was limited to those aspects which touched on the economic life of the people.

Apart from the evidence collected by the Committee, the elaborate and thoughtful notes prepared by Mr. V. Subbarayan, I.C.S., Secretary to Government of Madras are the main basis of the descriptive portion of the report.

Part I contains the agency areas where tribes live and Part II embodies the descriptive accounts of the tribes of Malabar, South Kanara and tribes in Tamil Nadu particularly in Nilgiris, Anamalais, Nallamalais and others.

It is hoped that this book would be useful for anthropological and comparative study of the Tribes in South India for students and scholars.

RKannan

(R. Kannan)

2000 AD

FOREWORD

THE Aboriginal Tribes Welfare Enquiry Committee constituted in G.O. Ms. No. 2516, Public (Political), dated the 19th November 1946 (Appendix I), functioned from the 2nd November 1946 till the 30th June 1947. The Committee met five times during the period. There were changes in the personnel of the Committee from time to time (Appendix I-A). Mr. V. Subbarayan of the Indian Police functioned as full-time Secretary to the Committee from the 2nd November 1946 to the 26th May 1947. On his reversion to the Police Department, Dr. A. Aiyappan, M.A., PH.D., Superintendent, Government Museum, the only official member of the Committee, was appointed to be in additional charge of the Secretary's work with effect from the 27th May 1947. He continued as Secretary till the 30th September when the report was completed.

A Questionnaire (Appendix IV) was issued by the Committee and answers were received from 48 persons.

The Committee undertook the tour of (1) Chingleput, Nellore, Guntur, Kistna and East and West Godavari districts from the 21st November to the 3rd December 1946, (2) Vizagapatam district from the 10th to the 20th December 1946, (3) South Kanara and Malabar districts from the 26th December 1946 to the 2nd January 1947 and (4) Chittoor, Anantapur, Bellary and Kurnool districts from the 22nd January to the 3rd February 1947. Oral evidence of 168 persons, both officials and non-officials, was also recorded at several places of visit in addition to a number of written memoranda presented by the tribesmen and welfare workers. Tribal conferences too were held and addressed by the members of the Committee at different centres. Before the Committee could tour the Tamil districts Government ordered its dissolution [G.O. No. 2074, Public (Political), dated 8th July 1947] and Dr. A. Aiyappan, the Secretary, was asked to submit a report on the basis of materials collected by the Committee.

Even so late as May 1947, the Committee lacked factual information on several important matters, and also on the welfare work done in the several Indian Provinces with large tribal populations. The gathering of these data took some time; the lacunæ still existing in the information have been indicated in several places in the course of the report.

The report does not strictly follow the order of subjects as given in the terms of reference; though most of them have been covered it has not been possible to go in great detail into "Customs and habits, modes of worship and marriage laws." At a certain stage it was felt that the terms of reference should be revised as they were too wide to be covered in the course of a few months, but this was not done and sociological inquiries were limited to those aspects which touched on the economic life of the people.

Apart from the evidence collected by the Committee, the elaborate and thoughtful notes prepared by Mr. V. Subbarayan are the main basis of the descriptive portion of the report. Since citations from Mr. Subbarayan's notes are so numerous and extensive, no special references to them have been made in the text. In the discussions on the problems of the Agency areas, considerable use has been made of the memorandum presented by Mr. M. V. Subramanian, I.C.S., Secretary to Government in the Education and Public Health Department, and also of the papers of Dr. B. S. Baliga on (i) Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas and (ii) Agency Areas and their Problems, to which the Secretary's attention was drawn by Mr. M. V. Subramanian, I.C.S.

The problems concerning the Agencies have been dealt with separately in Chapter II, because they are in several ways peculiar, and the tribes there are concentrated in a relatively limited area. The remaining tribes scattered all over the Province, and about whom information is very scanty have been dealt with in Chapter III. The important tribal areas in the Nilgiris and Coimbatore were not visited by the Committee. The suggestions for the betterment of the conditions of the Agencies are given in detail in Chapter II; those in respect of non-Agency tribes in Chapter III and those in respect of Criminal Tribes in Chapter IV. The general suggestions, together with summaries of suggestions (1–88) in Chapters II to IV are given in Chapter V to facilitate reference.

The descriptive accounts of the tribes are given in Part II.

In Appendix III will be found an account of the betterment plans for tribal populations in Hyderabad, Orissa, Central Provinces and Bombay.

GOVERNMENT MUSEUM,
EGMORE,
30th September 1947

A. AIYAPPAN.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I WISH to express my thanks to Rao Bahadur Dr. B. S. Baliga, Curator, Madras Record Office, for permission to use his excellent historical account of the Agencies; Mr. M. V. Subramanian, I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of Madras, Education and Public Health Department, for a similar permission to use the memorandum which he presented to the Advisory Sub-Committee of the Constituent Assembly on the Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas; Dr. B. S. Guha, Director, Anthropological Survey of India, Dr. Christoph Von Fürer-Haimendorf, Mr. W. V. Grigson, I.C.S., and the Governments of Bombay, Orissa, Hyderabad, Central Provinces, the Harijan Sevak Sangh, Delhi, Mr. A. M. Somasundaram, and Mr. C. J. Jayadev, Curator, Anthropological Section, Government Museum, for information and literature which they kindly furnished. The various Congress Committees in the districts which the Committee toured were deeply interested in its work; the members of the Committee are obliged to them for their splendid hospitality. Special mention should, however, be made of Mr. M. Bapineedu, M.L.A., who accompanied the Committee when it toured in his constituency; the best arranged tour of the Committee was in West Godavari district. The district officials were also of great help in all respects.

It was to me personally a great pleasure to work with the Chairman and Members of the Committee to all of whom I am indebted for the suggestions eighty-eight in all embodied in this report. Though these were not formally recorded as the recommendations of the Committee, they were shaping more or less in the form in which they have been here presented to Government. With my predecessor in the office of the Secretary to the Aboriginal Tribes Welfare Enquiry Committee, Mr. V. Subbarayan, I had many interesting discussions on the subject of this Report. This Report owes much to him. The Committee is thankful to Sri T. K. T. N. R. Tatachari, M.L.A., for the photographs which he took, a small selection from which illustrates this Report.

Sri S. Sundaresan was attached to the office of the Committee from the beginning as Stenographer and later as my only Assistant in the preparation of this Report. He took a keen and intelligent interest in his work, and has been of the greatest use to me. I have great pleasure in placing on record my appreciation of his services.

GOVERNMENT MUSEUM,
EGMORE,
30*th September* 1947.

A. AIYAPPAN.

POSTSCRIPT

When this report was in the Press, the *Draft Constitution of India* became available to the public. The excluded and partially excluded areas under the new constitution are proposed to be called 'Scheduled areas.' Part I of the Fifth Schedule to the Draft Constitution requires periodical reports to the Union Government from the Governor regarding the scheduled areas and tribes. The Union Government would exercise with regard to these areas the executive power of giving directions to the States as to the administration of the tribal areas.

Madras and six other provinces are each to have a Tribal Advisory Council consisting of not less than ten and not more than twenty-five members of whom three-fourths shall be elected representatives of the scheduled tribes in the Legislative Assembly of the State. The Advisory Council will generally advise the Governor on all matters pertaining to the administration of these areas and the welfare of the scheduled tribes. It will tender advice to the Governor in regard to the suitability or otherwise of any Union or State Acts to the scheduled areas. In the application of laws relating to marriage, inheritance, social customs, land and village administration and panchayats, the Governor has to act only if so advised by the Advisory Council. The Governor may issue regulations, as at present, with respect to any matter not provided for by any law in force. The estimated annual receipts and expenditure pertaining to these areas are to be shown separately in the Budget of the Province.

Seats in the legislature are proposed to be reserved for the tribes.

Alienation of tribal lands is sought to be made illegal and money-lending regulated by statutory provision.

16*th July* 1948.

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PART I

THE TRIBAL PROBLEMS AND REMEDIAL MEASURES

REPORT ON THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF THE ABORIGINAL TRIBES OF THE PROVINCE OF MADRAS

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

THE first three paragraphs of G.O. No. 2516, Public (Political), dated 19th November 1946, appointing the Aboriginal Tribes Welfare Enquiry Committee prescribe the work to be done by it (Appendix I).

The Committee was to enquire into the material conditions of the aboriginal tribes living in the Madras Province. The Government Order does not provide a ready list of the so-called aboriginal tribes. From the reference made to the Madugole and other agencies in paragraph 1 of the Government Order it may be taken that the Government have in view the tribes residing in the partially excluded areas and other tribes elsewhere in the Province who have been considered in the past for purposes of similar exclusion, or other special treatment. The papers leading up to the constitution of this committee and other records concerning the partially excluded areas called 'agencies' show that—

(1) Certain tribes and communities living in hills and forests, now in a primitive state of civilization and separated socially and culturally from the general body-politic have been a problem to the Provincial Government as well as to the Central Government, for quite a long time now;

(2) the serious attention of the Governments aforesaid, to these tribes was actually invited by "rebellious activities" on the part of the tribes in the past. The "rebellions" were crushed but the tribesmen have continued to remain aloof from the normal socio-economic fabric of the province;

(3) anthropological studies had been undertaken in the past at the instance of the Madras Government and other Governments (including Indian States) in their respective dominions;

(4) the Government of India had considered it necessary to provide a different kind of administration in respect of certain tribes and, therefore, created the scheduled districts of the olden days followed by the present Partially Excluded Areas, called "Agencies". The problem had been considered by the Joint Parliamentary Committee and provision was made in the Constitution Act of 1935 for such exclusion;

(5) during such consideration, many more tribes and areas than are now partially or fully excluded were reviewed but had been saved from exclusion by the mere fact that they were so situated that their exclusion would lead to administrative difficulties.

(6) the Government of Madras, however, desired to watch the welfare of the tribes so omitted and prescribed annual reports on their welfare by the Collectors of the districts in which the tribes live.

From the above, it may be considered that the 'aboriginal tribes' in the Government Order comprehends—

(*a*) the tribes or communities living in the partially excluded areas; and

(*b*) the tribes that were considered primitive or aboriginal living in other districts.

In regard to the latter it is not clear who all may be included. In G.O. No. 51, Public (Reforms), dated the 8th January 1937, the Government of Madras had given a list of tribes inside and outside the agencies and called for reports on them. In the same Government Order they had asked Collectors of some districts to report on any other tribes that deserved to be treated as 'aboriginal or backward'. Additions to the list of 1937 were made on such reports from time to time.

The word 'backward' adds a new significance to the problem. 'Aboriginal' apparently does not adequately or properly describe the tribes or communities that stand in need of special treatment. Besides, certain tribes which are not considered aboriginal are visibly backward. The anthropological and linguistic surveys, carried out in the past and in the present throughout India, have not satisfactorily established who the 'aboriginals' are. The anthropological studies made over and over again in the past by experts and specialists, the Census reports and returns, and the linguistic survey of India contain ample material about the various tribes, but all these are not very clear in the matter of defining and classifying particular tribes as 'aboriginals'. It may be taken that the Government have in their view, therefore, not the 'aborigine' who is the academic subject of anthropologists but the backward classes in the Province who live in a backward state, whether or not they may be called 'aborigines'.

The Committee has, therefore, to consider a whole list of tribes and classes gathered from all these sources. Those tribes selected as fit subjects for the Committee's enquiry are listed at the end of this chapter.

In sub-paragraph (*c*) of paragraph 2 of the Government Order the Committee was directed to consider and report on the Criminal Tribes Act. The tribes notified under the Criminal Tribes Act in this Province are not all of them among the tribes generally referred to as 'aboriginals'. They are all certainly backward and, in many cases, they are more unfortunate than their brethren on the hills.

Our Weakest Minority

2. In the Province of Madras, the biggest social problem to which some amount of attention by the Government and public has been given is that of the depressed classes or, as they are now called, the Scheduled Castes. The magnitude of this problem

seems to have overshadowed the equally important but less publicised problem relating to the numerous tribes inhabiting the out-of-the-way jungles of the Province. The Government of Bombay appointed a Special Officer in 1937 to enquire into and report on the aboriginal and hill tribes of the partially excluded areas in the Bombay Presidency. The Thakkar Committee to report on the partially excluded areas of Orissa was appointed in 1940. The Central Provinces Government appointed a Special Officer for a similar purpose in the year 1940, who carried on the work till 1942. Though the public conscience in this Province has not been fully roused to the needs of our aboriginal tribes it cannot be said that the Madras Government have started the present enquiry too early. It has not been recognized—and correct figures have not been compiled, so far, as to the total aboriginal population of Madras—that Madras has got as big an aboriginal population as Orissa and a larger aboriginal population than Bombay. The following figures are useful for comparison :—

Bombay	534,647
Orissa	1,118,356
Central Provinces	2,990,390
Assam	2,500,000
Madras	1,120,007 (Appendix II).

It is evident from the above table that even from the point of view of mere numbers the aboriginals are a sufficiently significant section (about one-fiftieth) of the total population of the Province. On account of their economic and educational backwardness and the cultural differences the tribes constitute our weakest minority.

Flesh of Our Own Flesh

3. The so-called aboriginal tribes are wrongly believed to be different from the plains populations in ethnical and racial origins; while a very small percentage of some insignificant tribes such as the Kadars of the Anamalais show the frizzly hair—the individuals with this characteristic can be counted on one's fingers—the majority of the tribes are for racial purposes indistinguishable from the plainsmen in the adjoining regions. A Chenchu or Konda Reddi or Koya cannot be distinguished by any bodily peculiarities from the plains Andhra, if he were dressed in the plains fashion and spoke without his dialectical peculiarities. The popular idea still propagated in our school books that the hill tribes are the "Kolarians" is all absurd. and the earlier our children are told that the hill tribes are our own kith and kin, lost and stagnating in the jungles, the better for them from the scientific point of view and also for the tribes to whom such a belief has done a good deal of unintended injustice.

It is not necessary for the purposes of this report to go into historical speculations about origins, ancient Indian races and race contact and clashes. At present the differences between the plainsmen and the tribes are chiefly in economic matters. Some

of our tribes are still in the primitive stage of food-gathering, but fortunately food-gathering tribes are few in number; there are some other tribes who have learnt only cultivation with hoes, and are slowly taking to plough cultivation. These simple tribesmen were following their own primitive modes of life when the exploitation of the forests started on a wide scale. In several districts, for example, Kurnool and Cuddapah, extensive areas of forest were cleared in the course of the last two hundred years to the economic detriment of the Province and indirectly of the tribesmen who had their homes in these jungles. A good deal of the misery of the Chenchu-Yenadi group of tribes is ascribable to the absence of a forest conservation policy in the dark ages after the fall of the Vijayanagar Empire. Some tribes, such as the Lambadis are the relics of the military campaigns of Mughal and Mahratta periods of Indian History. Tribes such as the Savaras, Gonds, Reddis were once very important politically, and had kingdoms which fell under the attack of powerful enemies. The Kallars, once an aristocratic tribe of soldiers, turned to the profession of robbery and blackmail when the Tamil Kingdoms of the South ceased to hold sway. Whatever may be the differences in their history, to-day the tribes have fallen on evil days and are too weak to stand on their legs or to stand up to the exploiter and tyrant.

Making Amends for Past Neglect

4. The Government, until 1935, paid little attention to the tribes except by way of quelling the rebellions and *fituris* of a few whose spirit had not been completely broken. At the time of the Round Table Conference, it was evident that the tribesmen hitherto scarcely mentioned in political circles were becoming pawns in the political game. The " die-hards " in England made herculean efforts to create as extensive and numerous excluded and partially excluded areas as possible, and people in the opposite camp, obviously to counteract the exclusion move, tried to belittle the tribal problem. The truth, as often happens, was between the two extreme positions; the tribes required protection but not to the extent of excluding the tribal areas from the supervision of the popular governments. In the political controversies, several friends of the aborigines, such as Father Elwin, came, unfortunately, to be misunderstood as friends of the political reactionaries, but it was indeed lucky that what was a social problem in the Provinces became a first rate political question. It is laudable that the Constituent Assembly is also giving its best attention now to the long-neglected tribes. It is now realized, on all sides, that we should do justice to our tribal and backward communities—they are Indians and Hindus—and India will be judged by outsiders by the manner in which the minorities are treated in the future.

Errors in Census Returns

5. In paragraph 2 above an estimate of the tribal population has been given as about eleven lakhs. The details are given in Appendix II. The figures for several tribes are not available in the 1931 or 1941 Census, for which reason, figures of earlier census reports have to be taken for the statement. The Committee had occasion to observe that the figures in the recent census reports for several tribes were undependable. There are cases of tribes doubling in the course of ten years and also cases of tribal figures increasing or decreasing in the most mysterious proportions. In the latest Census Report, 28 Villies are returned from Chingleput district. We wonder what happened to the rest at the time of the Census of 1941. The obvious fact is that the enumeration was done in a casual manner and the census authorities were not sufficiently alive to the several sources of error, particularly those due to differences in tribal nomenclature. As long as we feel these tribes require special protection and safeguards, accurate census figures are a desideratum. For the present, it must be confessed that, regarding the total tribal population, it has to be roughly estimated on the inaccurate figures now available.

Tribes not Harijans, but Weaker

6. The Committee has been told in season and out of season that the problems of the hillmen are not different from the problems of the poorer sections of the plains villagers. The exploitation by the money-lender and petty Government officials is common to both the backward villager and to the aboriginal; but it has to be made absolutely clear that the helplessness and sufferings of the members of the aboriginal tribes are far greater than anything known to the plains villagers. When land in the forests is assigned to the aboriginals claims on behalf of the non-aboriginals for similar assignments of land are likely to be put forth, but while their demands require sympathetic consideration by the Government the tribesmen have a first right which should, on no account, be ignored in favour of more clamorous sections inhabiting the same areas. Arguments are also likely to be advanced to the effect that the hill tribes are not efficient as farmers and that the gift of good lands to them is a waste. To this, the answer is that the tribes so far have not been given a fair chance to cultivate any piece of good land under favourable conditions such as the availability of good seeds, plough-cattle, and above all, a sense of security of tenure and a hope that they and their families will be able to enjoy the fruits of their labour. The hard conditions under which they have been living are enough to damage the morale of any community, and it is a matter of real surprise that they have survived all these ordeals.

The Harijans have been degraded as untouchables, but constant contacts with more advanced castes have made them " worldly wise " and capable of self-defence, with growing leadership. In

the case of the tribes, the isolation in which they have existed has ensured them a "pure" status in the eyes of the orthodox Hindu, but has left them still unprepared for competition with the plains people.

7. List of tribes which the Committee considered as fit subjects for its enquiry :—

Name of tribe. (1)	District in which found. (2)
Agency Tribes.	
Koyas, Konda Reddis	Godavari district.
Bagatas, Konda Doras or Konda Kapus, Gadabas, Khonds, Muka Doras, Porjas, Kotias, Dhulias, Ghasis, Dombos, Paidis, Valmikis, Kammaras, Kummaries, Ojas, Mulias, Oginbes, Ronas, Jatapus, Savaras, Kodulus, and Goudus.	Vizagapatam district.
Non-Agency Tribes.	
Edanadan Chettis, Wynaadan Chettis, Mandatan Chettis, Kurichiyas, Mulla Kurumbars, Urali or Vettu Kurumbars, Kunduvatiyans, Karimpalans, Kaders, Pathiyans, Uridavans, Thachanad Muppans, Kanaladis, Adiyans, Paniyas, Pulayans, Jen Kurumbars, Kattunayakans, Irulas, Mudukkans, Kurumans or Kurubans or Kurumbans, Aranadans or Ernadans, Mavilans, Vettuvans, Malasars, Malakkarans and Malayans.	Malabar district.
Paliyans and Mannans	Madura.
Malaiyalis	Salem, North Arcot, South Arcot and Trichinopoly.
Todas, Kotas, Kurumbas, Irulas, Sholagas and Uralis.	Nilgiris.
Malasars, Muduvars, Kadars, Pulayars and Eravalars.	Coimbatore (Anamalais).
Chenchus	Kurnool and Guntur.
Criminal Tribes.	
Yenadis and Irulas	Chittoor, Chingleput, South Arcot, North Arcot, Nellore and Guntur.
Koravas	Throughout the Province.
Lambadis	Do.
Kallars and Maravars	Madura, Ramnad and Tinnevelly.

CHAPTER II

THE TRIBES OF THE PARTIALLY EXCLUDED OR AGENCY AREAS

8. About 7,000 square miles of mountainous and forest tracts of West Godavari, East Godavari and Vizagapatam districts, with a predominant tribal population, from the Agency or partially excluded areas of the Madras Province. The population of the Agency areas is 493,026, of which 333,392 are tribal and 159,634 non-tribal. The Agency tribes, about twenty in number, are described in some detail in Chapter VI of this Report. Some tribes speak dialects of the Gondi language and others speak non-Dravidian, non-Aryan languages of the Mundari linguistic group, but being in contact with the Telugus, a good proportion understand the Telugu language. They are all given to *podu* or shifting cultivation though, in many places, they are taking to permanent plough cultivation of the various hill crops. On account of the prevalence of malaria, the potentially rich areas in the Agency have remained so far undeveloped. The tribesmen are excitable and their risings, known as *fituris*, resulted in several punitive expeditions against them. The last of the *fituris* in which the late Sitarama Razu figured as the leader was a rising against oppression by unscrupulous officialdom.

The Agency areas came under the British rule in two instalments in 1765 and 1862. The basis of the special administrative arrangements in these areas was the India Act XXIV of 1839 and the Scheduled Districts Act of 1874. Agency rules were framed in 1879 for the administration of the special areas.

The District Collectors of the three districts, under the Acts of 1839 and 1874, are Agents to the Governor for the administration of the Agency. Under the Agent are Assistant Agents, and under them, several Magistrate-Munsifs. These officers have civil, criminal and revenue jurisdiction and also supervisory functions in the matter of education and other social services. In civil cases, there is no appeal against the decisions of the Agents, while in criminal cases, only the High Court is the appellate authority. The administration by the Agents is carried on under the set of rules known as "Agency Rules" framed under section 6 of the Scheduled Districts Act, 1874.

Under the Montford Reforms, the administration of the Agencies was a "reserved subject" [under section 52-A (2) of the Government of India Act of 1919]. The Agencies were included in the electoral constituencies of Ganjam, Vizagapatam and Godavari and special representation was given to them through a nominated member of the Legislative Council.

Under section 91 (1) of the Government of India Act, 1935, His Majesty may, by order in Council, declare any area to be a 'Partially Excluded Area'. Under section 92 (1), the executive authority of the Province extends to the Agency Areas, but no Act of the Federal Legislature or of the Provincial Legislature shall apply to them unless the Governor by public notification so directs; and the Governor may, in giving such a direction with respect to any Act, direct that the Act shall in its application to the areas or to any specified part thereof have effect subject to such exceptions or modifications as he thinks fit. Under section 92(2) the Governor may make regulations with the assent of the Governor-General for the peace and good government of the Agency Areas and any regulations so made may repeal or amend any Act of the Federal Legislature or of the Provincial Legislature or any existing Indian Law which is for the time being applicable to them. Expenditure for the administration of the Agency Areas is votable but the Governor can under section 80 (1) restore grants which may be withheld. It should also be stated here that for electoral purposes all the Agency Tracts were constituted into one special constituency called the 'backward tribal' constituency. One seat in the Provincial Legislative Assembly was allotted to that constituency to be filled by a member of the backward tribes elected by the qualified voters of the backward tribes of that constituency.

9. In 1920, all the Agencies were placed under one Agency Commissioner, but in 1923, this post was abolished as a measure of retrenchment. The object of placing all the Agencies under one officer was to speed up the pace of development of the resources of the rich tracts and also to improve the condition of the hillmen. Mr. L. T. Harris, the Agency Commissioner, did good work for three years, but it was unfortunate that this experiment was suspended before it had a fair trial.

"Mr. Harris pointed out that there is an immense scope for developing the Agencies, but that the people of these tracts are quite unequal to that task. They are too few, too simple, too uneducated, too much addicted to drinking and too much accustomed to wasteful methods of agriculture to take upon themselves the huge task of development. It is therefore absolutely necessary to open up the Agencies to the enterprising men of the plains, under, of course, adequate safeguards for the protection of hillmen. And this opening up will make it possible to tap vast sources of potential wealth. There are thousands of square miles of fertile land, blessed with abundant rainfall and numerous streams that traverse the country, which can be easily cultivated with paddy, ragi, sugarcane, coffee, oil seeds, citrus fruits etc., to the great advantage not only of the hillmen but also of the plainsmen. There are extensive forests hitherto untapped which can be exploited for valuable timber and forest produce, but which are being rapidly denuded by the 'podu' cultivation practised by the hillmen. Some of these forests will have to be reserved to

ensure regular rainfall and avoid freshes on the plains, but several of them can be judiciously exploited to yield profitable results. There are also minerals like iron, coal, plumbago, mica, manganese and gold and a wealth of potential electric power in the perennial waterfalls, all of which remain to be tapped. 'But', pointed out Mr. Harris, 'there are certain great difficulties in the way of development of all these resources; and they are want of communications, shortage of labour, and malaria. Of these the greatest difficulty is undoubtedly malaria. The severity of this malady can be seen by the fact that not less than 89 per cent of the population of the high plateau land and 90 per cent of the population of the lower plateau have enlarged spleen as a result of suffering from malaria.' Mr. Harris realized that large sums would be needed to overcome these difficulties and he advised the Government to raise these sums by a loan."*

10. At the time of the preparation of this report, the report of the Advisory Sub-Committee of the Constituent Assembly on the question of the future constitutional status of the Partially Excluded Areas was not available for reference. So far as Madras Agencies are concerned, the best-informed authorities are of the opinion that the "paternal" system of administration should be continued. Now that the Governor of the future will be an elected Governor, the Agents to the Governor will be indirectly under popular control, and ministers' voice on Agency matters will no doubt be absolutely effective. The old cry against Agency administration with powers concentrated in the Agent to the Governor as the personal rule of a foreign Governor has now become meaningless. The present form of Government has been adversely criticized and even condemned for the reason that it has not done much good all these years. The fault, however, was that the higher authorities had no plan in view and, even when they appeared to have a policy, things were started half-heartedly and then terminated without a fair trial.

11. It would be more in keeping with the spirit of the times if the responsibility for the Agency be vested in the Legislature and the administration in the Cabinet. Mr. M. V. Subramanian, I.C.S., in his memorandum to the Constituent Assembly Sub-Committee on Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas, suggested that legislative matters under section 92 (1) should be referred to a *Standing Committee* of the Legislature, members of which would be the representatives in the Legislature from the Agency, with a few others added from adjoining districts. Government by regulations under section 92 (2) should continue but "these should be laid on the table of the Legislature for discussion."

The Agency areas will thus be *Specially Administered Areas* so long as they have a simple kind of administration suited for the simple, illiterate hillmen who form more than two-thirds of the population.

* Extract from Dr. Baliga's paper on "Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas."

12. The Government officers in the Agency work under very hard conditions, and being human, they are keen to get transferred elsewhere. The special allowance which they get is meagre. Suggestions have been made that their emoluments should be raised. If the recommendation regarding "specially administered areas" is acceptable to Government, a special service to be known as "Special Areas Service" may also be considered with better scales of pay than obtains in the Revenue Department now and manned by specially trained men.

13. Since the Government are now considering the question of the separation of the Executive from the Judiciary in the whole Province, the question of judicial functions of the Revenue officials in the Agency Areas is likely to come up for discussion in the near future. There are, however, weighty reasons for the continuance of the present system which vests civil and criminal jurisdiction in Agents, Assistants to the Agents and the Tahsildar-Munsifs. Mr. W. V. Grigson, I.C.S., Revenue Minister to the Government of His Exalted Highness the Nizam, in his book "The Challenge of Backwardness", points out the difficulties arising in the tribal areas of Hyderabad on account of the existence of a judiciary separate from the executive, and advises the Hyderabad Government to copy the example of the Madras Government in this respect. The advantages of the present judicial arrangements in the Agency Tracts are—

(1) It would be possible for the only officers who tour these tribal areas to give effective justice on the spot.

(2) It would save Government a considerable expenditure on the provision of a separate judicial staff, courts, quarters for the judicial staff, etc., who may not have much work to do.

14. There is also a case for increasing the representation of the tribal areas in the Legislature. At present, there is only one member representing the tribes, but in view of the special circumstances of the Agencies, it is felt that there should be at least two members from the Agencies in the Legislature.

15. What the Government have so far been doing in the Agencies has had little effect on the hillmen and on the Agencies as a whole. It cannot be said that the condition of the hillmen has improved much as a result of the special measures introduced by the Government for their protection. Some of the most beneficial measures passed by the Government are the Agency Tracts Interest and Land Transfer Act, 1917, the Madras Debt Bondage Abolition Regulation 1940, and the Usurious Loans Act, 1918 (Central Act X of 1918). Besides these Acts and Regulations, the following enactments are also in force in the Agency Areas:—

(1) The Madras Agriculturists' Relief (Partially Excluded Areas Amendment) Regulation, 1940.

(2) The Madras Agriculturists' Relief Act, 1938.

The one typical instance of chronic indebtedness referred to under 'Jatapus' (second paragraph—page 77) came to the notice of Mr. V. Subbarayan, I.P., during his tours with the Committee. The fact that in spite of the several protective measures applied to the Agency such instances are met with is ample proof that most of the hillmen are not quite alive to the existence of those protective measures. As Mr. Harris pointed out in 1922, the problem of the hill tribes in the Agencies is closely linked up with the problem of general development of the Agencies. This development cannot be done by the efforts and through the agency of the hillmen who cannot stand on their own legs.

If the economic resources of the Agencies remain undeveloped, whatever Government might do by way of welfare work for the amelioration of the hillmen will be just tinkering with a problem for which more vigorous solutions are necessary. Several Indian officers who have considerable experience of Agency administration—Messrs. R. A. Gopalaswamy, I.C.S., M. V. Subramanian, I.C.S., and V. N. Kudva, I.C.S.—have held the opinion that the salvation of the tribes lies in bringing them into direct contact with the right type of plainsmen who would teach them better methods of agriculture and better ways of business by their practical example. Mr. R. A. Gopalaswamy has, in this connection, pointed out the example of the Koyas of the Nugur taluk who have advanced very much because, in this area, they have had the benefit of contact with the better type of plainsmen. In other areas, it has been the misfortune of the hillmen to come into touch only with lower types of plainsmen who came into the Agency with no other idea except that of exploiting the tribesmen in the most unscrupulous manner. Mr. M. V. Subramanian's suggestions are briefly these—

(1) In the interest of the hillmen, and of the plains people inhabiting the agency, steps should be taken to eradicate malaria from the Agencies.

(2) The rights of hillmen should continue to be protected and no scheme of development should be undertaken which does not guarantee all the existing rights of the hillmen including their holdings of land.

(3) Mere defence of the hillmen against exploitation will not help them to get out of their present stagnant state. To help in the development of the Agencies and thus indirectly help in the advancement of the tribesmen, additional population from plains will have to be imported into the Agencies. But, if this colonization is to be a success, care should be taken that every new colonist should be carefully selected, as these people have a double function, namely, that of developing the Agency and acting as a civilizing influence on the hillmen.

(4) The post of the Agency Commissioner, abolished in 1923, should be revived.

(5) As a Sub-Committee of the General Development Board for the Province, there should be a Special Development Board for the Agency. The Chairman of the General Board may be the Chairman of the Special Board and the Agency Commissioner may function as the Secretary of the Special Development Board for the Agency.

(6) The first task of the Agency Commissioner will be to select suitable sites for development and colonization, with the help of a small staff of experts such as specialists in forestry, agriculture, malariology, geology and engineering, who would all work under the supervision of the Agency Commissioner.

(7) After selecting the sites and settling the kinds of chief economic enterprises which can be encouraged at each site (forest utilization, mining, plantation—garden, wet or dry or mixed farming), the possibilities of collective and co-operative enterprises should be explored.

(8) As the usual budgeting processes will be difficult to apply to the financing of the Agency Development Schemes it is desirable to create a separate fund to be known as the ' Agency Development Fund '. If found necessary, Government should be prepared to raise general loans for augmenting the fund.

As pointed out by Mr. L. T. Harris, Commissioner of the Agencies in 1922, there are hundreds of square miles of excellent land lying uncultivated and vast forest and mineral resources remaining unexploited and unexplored, which, if fully developed, would make the Agencies the richest tract in the whole Province. Potential sources of electric power are also numerous, and when the Machkund Hydro-Electric Scheme is completed cheap electric power will be available for at least a part of the Agencies. The Agencies require to be developed not merely in the interests of the hillmen but in the interests of the whole Province. There is no better way of planning and executing development schemes than through an Agency Development Board as suggested by Mr. M. V. Subramanian.

16. The schemes for development would require vast capital outlay not only on the actual schemes themselves but on the essential pre-conditions such as a chain of good roads, and also on anti-malarial operations on a very large scale. Proposals for the improvement and formation of new roads have been approved in the Five-year Plan (1947-52) but they have not been taken up for execution. More roads will be necessary as more colonies are planned and anti-malarial operations extended.

17. Labour is likely to be one of the big obstacles in the execution of these plans. It has been said that the tribesmen are not efficient labourers and cannot, moreover, be depended upon to work systematically. With the latter statement one cannot fully agree, for, under better conditions of work, the tribesmen may

turn out to be more efficient than they are under the present impossible conditions. Moreover, the hillmen have another advantage over imported labourers from the plains in that they have got better resistance against malaria and will stand the rigours of the Agency conditions much better than plainsmen. Mr. B. Venkatasubbiah, Executive Engineer, South Vizagapatam, in the course of his evidence before the Committee, made a very useful suggestion regarding the formation of 'labour units' in the Agencies to overcome the difficulties now experienced in executing major schemes of work. An extract of his suggestion from the evidence recorded is given below :—

"We can, out of the landless aborigines, form labour colonies and employ these people on these works. Several of them will be getting thereby a sort of steady income . . . There must be a system of direct payment by the Government to the Agency labourers. That will enhance the prestige of all concerned and the efficiency of the labourer. To call the Agency people irresponsible is a sin . . . These labour units must be hutted. Our estimate must cover this hutting charges also. On the health side, we can have a doctor, midwife, compounder and others at the place of work and they should be hutted. It must also have a school where the aboriginal children could be taught. Thus a unit can comprise 1,500 people. Such units may be formed all over the Agency areas both in the Godavaris and in the Vizagapatam districts. No contract should be entered into with the middlemen, so that we can ensure the full wage going to the workers."

This excellent suggestion of Mr. Venkatasubbiah will involve preliminary preparations such as propaganda among the hillmen to overcome their initial fears and prejudices, and would, therefore, take some time to be brought into operation. As, however, a beginning should be made as early as possible, another suggestion made by Mr. M. V. Subramanian has to be considered in the initial stages. His suggestion is that "appropriate army units could be advantageously employed in the process connected with road formation and the siting and clearance of 'labour camps' in that connexion in relation to the communications plan, and for the clearance and levelling of sites for colonization where these are different from the 'temporary' camps."

18. *On the question of the Government themselves encouraging direct contact between the colonists on the one hand and the tribesmen on the other, there is likely to be difference of opinion.* According to Mr. K. N. Anantaraman, I.C.S., Collector of Bellary, "The hillmen's contact with the people from the plains has been harmful to them so far." Except in the Nugur taluk, the hillmen have invariably suffered when plainsmen such as merchants, non-aboriginal cultivators and money-lenders came into contact with them. Wherever the Telugu and Oriya merchants from the lowlands settled in the various aboriginal villages the good

cultivable lands have passed from the aboriginals into the hands of the former. With the loss of good land the Koyas or the Konda Reddis were reduced to the position of mere ' farm hands ' or were thrown back on *podu* cultivation.

The policy of the Government of Hyderabad has been to exclude plainsmen and other exploiters very rigorously from the areas which they reserve for tribesmen, such as the Chenchus (Chenchu Reserves). (Appendix III-A.) The Government of Assam also have been pursuing a policy of exclusion of plainsmen from the Naga Hills and other tribal areas. There are grave risks in allowing money-lenders and middlemen free access to carry on their low type of business among the hillmen, and the Governments of Hyderabad and Assam have acted very wisely in excluding them. In the Madras Agencies also there is a very strong case for restricting, or even completely stopping, the activities of several types of exploiters, but this is only acting on the preventive side. To improve the Agencies and the hillmen, there is no doubt about the need, as pointed out by Mr. M. V. Subramanian, for a large number of honest and hardworking immigrants. Moreover, the vast area of fertile territory now comprising the Agencies cannot be treated as an exclusive reserve for the tribesmen. The Development Board and the Agency Commissioner will have to go very carefully into the means whereby they can be certain that the really desirable types of colonists alone are permitted to enter the Agencies in future.

Government are now considering the question of granting land to political sufferers. Since most of these men are people who have demonstrated in the most practical manner a high sense of duty and self-sacrifice, it may be possible to induce them to accept land and settle in the Agencies as a nucleus of what has been termed "the right type of men" to provide the standard of conduct for the other colonists who would follow.

19. In large development schemes there are risks of the hillmen's cases being ignored as it has happened in the Wynaad Land Colonization Scheme. In the Agencies, it is not likely to happen as the tribes are quite numerous. In the blue print of future colonization schemes, the place that the tribesmen must occupy in each will have to be clearly indicated. In the Araku Valley Scheme which is likely to be the model of other schemes, the place the hillmen should have in it is left more or less unsettled. The Committee was informed that within the ten square mile area of the Araku Valley, it will be possible to settle at least 200 of the total of about 600 families of hillmen residing in the neighbourhood. The conditions under which these families would be settled in the Araku Valley are not also yet settled. At present, the few families in the colony are all landless labourers who were selected as they will be available throughout the year without having to leave during the agricultural season to attend to their lands. In these colonization schemes, in the absence of a definite policy

towards the hillmen, there is the possibility of the tribesmen becoming mere labourers dependent on the colonists. This is a possibility which should, by all means, be avoided. Land will have to be assigned to the tribesmen free and they should also be provided with loans returnable in easy instalments for starting independent agricultural work.

20. The advantages of placing the Agency areas of all the three districts under one administrative head have been pointed out to the Committee by more than one witness. At present, the three Agents to the Governor, being Collectors of large districts, have, naturally, very little time to spare for Agency matters, and it is not possible to expect that they will be able to give more of their time in future to Agency matters. In view of the proposals made for the development of the Agencies, and also in the interest of greater efficiency in Agency administration, the post of Agency Commissioner should be revived as early as possible. The cost of a separate Agency administration will not be as great in future as it was in the past, because, with the abolition of the Indian Civil Service, revenue officers of the Provincial Services, on a lower scale of salary will be appointed as heads of districts.

The question of the headquarters for the Agency Commissioner is a difficult one which the Committee discussed but it could not come to any definite conclusion. In the absence of good roads connecting the small towns in the agency, no definite place can now be suggested. Therefore, the selection of a suitable place for the headquarters of the Agency Commissioner will have to be considered in connexion with the road and other development programmes.

Economic Problems

21. The tribes of the Agency depend for livelihood on (1) shifting or *podu* cultivation, (2) to a lesser extent, on permanent cultivation, (3) on the collection for contractors of minor forest produce and (4) coolie work under agriculturists, contractors, and the forest department.

"*Podu*" *cultivation.*—Before the Government took over the management of forests from private hands, the tribesmen enjoyed considerable freedom to *podu* in any part of the jungle, but this freedom has now been considerably restricted. Burning down a part of the forest and then hoeing and broadcasting the seeds in the soil fertilized by the ashes, requires very little capital and fairly good crops are ensured. Those who have not understood the economic problems of the hill tribes are often heard to state that the tribesmen resort to *podu* because they are lazy and expect quick return. The tribesmen are obliged to take to *podu* cultivation owing to a number of unfavourable circumstances. Briefly they are:

(i) the best lands which they cleared, levelled and improved for permanent cultivation have all passed into the hands of the

sowcars and other plainsmen who manage to get a strangle-hold over them; from a commonsense point of view, there is little prospective gain if they spend their capital and labour in improving lands. In villages where, two generations ago, Hill Reddis, Koyas, etc., owned all the plough-lands, and were the sole inhabitants, the lands have passed into the hands of non-aboriginals. The Zamindar alienates the land for arrears of rent which may be, after all, a very small fraction of its value; the money-lender compels relinquishment or gets the crops pledged for years together. Their commonsense, therefore, obliges the hillmen to seek a living in *podu*;

(ii) where the sowcars are somewhat less oppressive, the tribesmen do not have the capital with which to begin the seasonal work on the farm. The plough, cattle and seed have to be borrowed at exorbitant rates, and any borrowing in the Agency means economic suicide; and

(iii) the only agency which advances small sums to meet the expenses being the sowcars, the hillmen invariably are heavily indebted. A sense of obligation is deeply ingrained in them and this is most ruthlessly exploited by the sowcars. To pay off old and new debts, the sowcars goad the tribesmen to *podu* far more extensively than they need under normal circumstances. The Koya, as a rule, will not do *podu* beyond the minimum for his personal needs.

From these, it is clear that it is not from any perversity of theirs that the tribesmen cling to *podu* cultivation.

While controlled and limited *podu* does not do appreciable harm to the forests, there is no doubt it is not advisable to allow it to be extended. It has to be very clearly pointed out that *podu* is at present the chief means of livelihood for the tribes. If *podu* is suddenly declared illegal, the bulk of the tribesmen would be faced with the immediate prospect of starvation. Any action to stop *podu* cultivation must be preceded by efforts to make sufficient permanent agricultural land available to the tribesmen at a reasonable distance from their villages. The tribesmen should also be clearly told that it is neither in their interest nor in the interest of the whole country to continue the wasteful *podu*. The selection of an area within the forest to be converted into permanent arable fields and the estimation of the extent of an economically sufficient holding for each family are matters which the local authorities should be asked to settle. To create a sense of proprietary right, the land for each family must be assigned to the head of the family subject to the condition that he has no right to alienate it, but that his children would be able to inherit the property. The restriction to *podu* should be carried out in considered and gradual stages. Though the Forest Department would welcome the complete stoppage of *podu*, it is not done for fear of *fituris* (tribal uprisings).

"In Orissa and Assam, as well as in parts of Hyderabad, the policy has been to allow certain area of forest for cultivation to each family of genuine aboriginals. Outside this area, shifting cultivation is forbidden. The minimum area of forest required by each family is twenty acres. If a smaller area is given, there is danger that the rotation will be too short and the forest will be destroyed altogether."

Mr. M. V. Subramanian's opinion on the subject is that "*podus* should continue to be allowed in the kinds of areas where it is now permissible. Just as has been done in connexion with the operations of forest reservation, in the selection of areas for permanent occupation or for other permanent operations also, ample room should be left for this purpose. If eight to ten times the usual annual area of *podu*, the criterion so far adopted, should not be feasible, a little less would do, for, we would be reserving for them also lands in the areas proposed for permanent cultivation, or work in the areas selected for other permanent operations. . . . I would deprecate sudden compulsion in the matter of elimination of *podu*."

In his evidence, Mr. M. V. Ramamurti, President, Parvatipuram Taluk Congress Committee, stated that "Most of the hillmen live on what is known as *podu* or shifting cultivation. Dry crops are raised and the yield is very much less than that from the plains dry lands. Herein they come into conflict with forest authorities of the zamindari. These slopes or tracts on hill sides are more often converted into 'reserves' and the hillmen are thrown back on other sources of living as coolie, etc. This is a problem which requires careful consideration. *Podu* is believed to be interfering with growth and development of forests but, on careful enquiry, most of these tracts used for this mode of cultivation are barren hill slopes not much conducive to rich growth of forest trees.

"There are instances where, as in Kuruppam Zamindari areas, most of these tracts have been so recently as 1929 or 1930 converted into or declared as 'Reserve Forests' depriving large number of hillmen of their nearly only means of living. Nothing appears to have been done to compensate this loss to the hillmen, say, by way of granting them unreclaimed *banjars* nearby."

The recommendation regarding *podu* cultivation based on the information available is that it should not be suddenly stopped, but that it may be slowly restricted while the tribesmen are provided with suitable land for permanent cultivation and helped with credit facilities for the purchase of seed, cattle, manure and agricultural tools.

Permanent cultivation.—It was not possible for the Committee to get the exact figures about the proportion of tribesmen practising permanent cultivation to those practising *podu* cultivation; nor was it possible for it to get information about the relative

proportion of the area under *podu* and permanent wet cultivation. The general impression gained by the Committee, however, is that the area under permanent wet cultivation by the tribesmen is very small. It has been suggested by Mr. G. Bhimasankaram, Special Assistant Agent, Kovvur, that "the literate Koya (and other) village munsifs and Peddakapus (and other tribal headmen) may be trained by the Agricultural department for some time so that they might themselves teach their brethern better methods of cultivation. Wherever possible, the tribesmen may be trained and appointed as agricultural maistris in preference to plainsmen." But the essential pre-requisites are (1) that sufficient land must be available for permanent cultivation and (2) the hillmen should be in a position to retain the lands in their own hands. Better methods of agriculture, etc., come in only after these conditions are satisfied.

22. A complaint was made to the Committee by Sri Durba Venkatappayya of Venkatayapalem Estate that big ryots and zamindars who did not cultivate extensive areas were, instead of giving them for cultivation to others, making cheap money by giving them away as pasture land which fetched them a large sum of "Pulavari." This, he said, was one of the chief reasons for the non-availability of land for permanent cultivation by the landless aboriginals. This question must also be gone into by the Government when the question of assignment of land is taken up.

23. Attention has been drawn in the Chapter on 'Koyas' to the forest boundaries being very close to the villages which make pasture difficult for the cattle owned by the tribesmen: if, as everyone agrees, our object is to reduce the area under *podu* and make the tribesmen take to permanent cultivation, the forest demarcations have to be taken to a reasonable distance from the villages. This question will have to be gone into very carefully by the Forest department who should see that the tribesmen have not only sufficient land under reserved lands for permanent cultivation but also for grazing their cattle.

24. Several *minor irrigation* schemes can be easily executed in the Agencies which would help to bring more land under permanent cultivation. These will indirectly also make malaria control easier. The Koyas, and other tribes too, suffer in many places for want of drinking water. Wells that would provide this need and also help in cultivation have to be provided on a larger scale.

25. *Collection of minor forest produce.*—Throughout the forests of the Province, whether Government or private, tribesmen are employed to collect minor forest produce. In some localities, the right of collecting minor forest produce is leased out to contractors while, in others, the seigniorage * system is in vogue. The hillmen collect the produce and give over what they collect to the contractors or their agents receiving payment at rates arbitrarily

* See Foot Note on page 19.

fixed by the latter. These payments may be taken as wages at piece-rates. With a view to put more money into the hands of the hillmen by way of better payment for the collection of minor forest produce and to check leakage of produce collected in areas where the seigniorage system was in practice, an experiment was tried in the Rampa Chodavaram Agency of Government themselves purchasing tamarind collected direct from the hillmen at a Government depot and auctioning it to merchants. The rate to be paid to the hillmen for collecting the produce was fixed at half the market rate prevailing at Rajahmundry. This experiment, we were told, was a failure and the reasons therefor are set out below :—

"This scheme was originally intended to cover the entire Rampa country through the agency of three depots, but eventually it was confined only to one depot at Rampa Chodavaram. This naturally resulted in a diversion of most of the produce to other centres where it could be sold to plains sowcars. Moreover, by the time the Government opened the depot and made it compulsory for the hillmen to sell the produce to the depot alone, some two months of the season elapsed and, during this interval, the sowcars with their old established connexions gained a long start. Again, since it was known that the scheme would be in operation only for six months, stocks were held back in the villages for disposal later on to the sowcars. Further, the crop also of the season was poor, and the sowcars put up their prices in competition. To cap this all, errors were committed in fixing the purchase as well as the sale price of tamarind. In consequence of all this, the depot was able to collect only 4,414 maunds instead of 50,000 maunds anticipated and Government lost about Rs. 2,000. These reasons show as plain as chaff that the scheme was not given a fair trial. (Further, it was not given another trial in the succeeding year.) . . ."†

If a large number of co-operative societies, as the one at Atmakur, an account of which is given in the following paragraph, are started at various important trade centres in the Agencies, there is no doubt that the hillmen stand to gain.

* *Seigniorage system.*—Under this system, permits for the collection of specified produce and articles such as stone, chiselled and unchiselled, gravel, squared timber, etc., at rates fixed by the Forest department are granted to persons applying for them. This system obtains in unreserved areas where the right of collection of forest materials is not leased out to contractors. The sowcars and other plainsmen, who take such permits through their old established connexions with the hillmen, illicitly transport large quantities of the various materials and the forest guards and other officials are oftentimes at a loss to check such leakages. While the sowcar is at an advantage by evading payment to Government at the prescribed rate, he is also cheating the illiterate hillmen by using false measures and weights and by paying them for the goods far below any reasonable rate.

† Extract from Dr. Baliga's paper on "The Agencies and Their Problems."

The co-operative society at Atmakur is functioning for the benefit of the six Chenchu gudems at Bairluty, Nagaluty, Abrajagunta, Kothapalle, Pechcheruvu and Indreswaram. The constituents are supposed to be the Chenchus in the neighbouring areas. They are given the monopoly of the minor forest produce in the Nallamala hill forests. A senior co-operative inspector is in charge of the society, and, at each of these six gudems, there is a depot-keeper. The produce collected are received at the depot and the hillmen are paid fixed rates by the store-keeper, money being advanced for the purpose by the co-operative inspector to the teacher of the school at each centre, who maintains the accounts. The rates paid by the Forest department for the collection of a few items of forest produce are as follows :—

Kadukkai	9 pies per Madras measure.
Ippa kernel	1 anna per Madras measure.
Tamarind (unshelled and unseeded).	4½ annas for ¼ imperial maund, i.e., 28 lb.
Honey	Re. 1-4-0 per Madras measure.
Bees' wax (minum)	8 annas per Madras measure.
Marking nut	9 pies per Madras measure.

26. *Coolie labour.*—The Forest department is the biggest employer of the hill tribe labour. They are employed for various forest operations including road work. In some divisions, hill tribes are allowed grazing free or grazing at lesser rates than those fixed for other people, and are also allowed to take manure leaf and wood from unreserves for domestic purposes. In return for these concessions, they are expected to protect the forest from fire and theft, and to supply labour whenever required. While it is said that they are paid at local rates for the labour, complaints were made to the committee that the hillmen were not paid at all for certain types of forest work. Some of the forest officials themselves said that the Government rates were often below the current market rates.

27. Forest contractors are also big employers of tribal labour and the officers of the Forest department are expected to see that tribesmen got fair wages. Whether, in actual practice, the contractors really give fair wages is a matter that has to be looked into. If, instead of being labourers under contractors, tribal co-operative societies, on the lines of the society which the Swami of Parentapalli has organized, are started and the hillmen are encouraged to take forest coupes in auction, fell the timber and bamboos and sell them on their own account, there is no doubt they will benefit immensely. The remarkable progress made by the Konda Reddis of the Bison Hills on the Hyderabad side of the Godavari by the welfare work and co-operative organization done under the guidance of the Swami of Parentapalli is an object lesson for the Madras Agency administration. It is said that the rapacity of forest contractors and their agents was so great in the Parentapalli area a few years ago that some of the Konda Reddis had to

flee to other places. But the same people, under the guidance of the Swami, have become not only prosperous but walk erect as independent citizens.

Forced Labour

28. In this connexion, it is relevant to offer a few remarks about the prevalence of forced labour in the agencies. 'Forced labour' in the agency areas of the Madras Province falls under two distinct heads, (1) vetti and (2) gothi. In cases of *vetti*, the labourer is paid a meagre wage by the contractors or other business people to whom he is under some obligation. The muttadars, as a matter of right, are entitled to *vetti* from the village folk in their jurisdiction at the rate of one person for each hut. The number of villages under a muttadar ranges from 10 to 20. The labourer must work for the muttadar whenever he needs assistance but the number of days for which he has to work for him in a year does not appear to have been fixed. The muttadar, in return, gives the labourer some food, but no wages. This sort of *vetti* is still in vogue and is bound to continue until a change in the working of the present mutta system is brought about.

Complaints were made by the tribesmen about *vetti* for the Forest and Revenue departments also; it was also alleged that they were compelled to work, sometimes, for the police too.

The 'Paleruthanam' system of labour in the agency areas is identified with 'gothi' which is prevalent in the Central Indian and North Indian tribal areas. In '*paleru*' a man is bound to work under the creditor as agricultural labourer in lieu of the loan taken. Irrespective of the physical capacity of the person thus placed as '*paleruthanam*,' the payment by the creditor for his maintenance is only about six bags of paddy per annum which is quite inadequate. It is also reported that, in some cases, cash payment is also made at the rate of Rs. 8 or 10 per month plus food *or* supply of a cumbly, some clothes and Rs. 20 or 30 per year plus food. This is unbelievable, for, then, every tribesman would prefer to be a *paleruthanam*-man since it would relieve him of all his troubles for his proper maintenance. Also according to one Kati Ramudu, a Koya of Jenumarugudem village, whose case is referred to below, *no* food was given to the labourer in the house of the creditor. The wife does not work with her husband for the creditor. No cases of inherited bondage were reported though, as a rule, in Madras and in the Central Provinces, the bondage of a person extends to his heirs. In days gone by, the debtor was bound to work the debt out.

The Government of Madras introduced the Madras Agency Debt Bondage Abolition Regulation of 1940 (Madras Regulation III of 1940) in the Agency areas which sought to abolish *gothi* but it has not had the expected result.

To quote a recent instance, Kati Ramudu, a Koya Dora of Jenumarugudem village in Jengareddigudem taluk, took a loan of Rs. 60 and, in lieu of that, placed his brother Tatti Kollappa for

work under the lender, Polineti Venkataswami. The creditor charged interest at 6 per cent besides the service of his brother. Six bags of paddy per annum were being given to the *paleruthanam-man* for his maintenance. He said he did not know when the loan would be repaid and his brother released from bondage.

Another instance recorded by the committee was the case of one Kovvasi Sooranna of Jainavarigudem village in Koyyur division. (*See* also paragraph 33.)

The Agency Tracts Interest and Land Transfer Act, 1917

29. This was a well conceived Act which sought to regulate interest and control the alienation of land owned by tribesmen. Though this Act has been on the statute book for about three decades, its working has not been reviewed by Government. We know, however, that rates of interest far higher than 24 per cent, the maximum prescribed by the Act, and accumulated interest several times the amount of the principal, are being collected by sowcars (*see* a typical case quoted under 'Jatapus'). Land also is being alienated from the tribesmen, circumventing the Act being facilitated by several loop-holes in the Act. According to the Act, there is no prohibition against the alienation of land for the arrears of rent by tribesmen or against his voluntary relinquishment. The hillman is so illiterate that he may not often know that his land has been sold in auction for arrears of rent. To protect the tribesmen's interest, it has been suggested by Mr. M. V. Subramanian, I.C.S., "that such sales should be scrutinized by the Special Assistant Agents and that a general confirmation by these officers might be provided for under the Estates Land Act or under the notification issued under that Act applicable to the Agency," and confirmation of sales should be refused "unless the Tahsildars had made personal enquiries and certified that there was no grievance and until the price fetched was reasonable." Collusive relinquishments and assignments are also a matter of common knowledge. The official ignorance of these (*see*, for example, Board's Proceedings No. 1612, dated 12th February 1943) reveals the evils of administration without personal knowledge of (1) the hillmen's helpless condition and (2) the wiles of sowcars in the Agencies. The objection raised by the Board of Revenue against the prohibition of alienation for arrears of rent is theoretically valid, but rent being so low in the Agencies, tribal purchasers, instead of plainsmen, may not be difficult to find, if an effort is made to see that land remains in the hands of tribesmen. If tribal purchasers are not available, the multi-purpose co-operative societies which are recommended below should come to the rescue of the debtor and advance him loans to pay off the arrears of rent.

If the Government of the Punjab, before partition, did, by law, prevent the alienation of land from agricultural to non-agricultural communities, one cannot see why in the agencies transfer from

tribal to non-tribal population cannot be unconditionally prohibited.* If this is not done, the consequence is that the sowcar's economic enslavement of the tribesmen will be completed, if it is not already so.

"One loop-hole was seen even when the Act was on the anvil. In the Bill, as it was originally drafted, clause 4 (2) provided that the agent or any other prescribed officer may '*suo motu* or on application by anyone interested' decree ejectment against any person in possession of land under a transfer in contravention of clause I. But the Government considered that it was not right that an officer should in effect be both plaintiff and judge even though the hillmen required unusual protection. They, therefore, proposed the omission of the words '*suo motu* or' in clause 4 (2) and the Bill thus amended retaining only in clause 4 (2) the words 'on application by anyone interested' was passed into law as Act I of 1917. The reason for the original inclusion of the words '*suo motu*' was, it is obvious, to enable the Special Assistant Agents to enquire into the matter of transfers even when such transfers are not complained of by hillmen or anyone interested. The framers of the Bill apprehended that, unless this clause was included in the Bill, the hillmen, who were ignorant, but who, at the same time, had a strong sense of obligation to repay debts, would part with their lands to the plains sowcars without the least complaint, without filing in any complaint before the Special Assistant Agents, even though their lands might be appropriated by the sowcars by the most nefarious means. And their apprehensions have proved perfectly well grounded. Again and again, the Agency officers have pointed out that the hillmen's ignorance of the laws and, more often, their blind sense of obligation to clear off debts, at any cost, have, in many instances, defeated the object of the Act. Again and again, they have suggested that the only remedy for this is to empower them to bring the provisions of the Act into operation on their own initiative. But, again and again, the Government have turned down this suggestion on the ground that it would be wrong to make the officers, in effect, both the plaintiff and the judge. The utmost that can be done to overcome this difficulty, the Government have stated, is to encourage the hillmen to make applications under section 4 (2) of the Act and to see that having put the Act into operation they are protected as far as possible from the consequence of the action which tends to deprive them of the support of money-lenders. But how this could be done against the wishes of the hillmen themselves they have not stated, with the result the problem still remains an unsolved problem."†

To overcome this difficulty, the recommendation is that the Agency Tahsildars should be the officers to take the initiative in the investigation of such illegal transfers and the case should be

* This has been provided for in the Draft Constitution for India.

† Dr. Baliga, *op. cit.*

disposed of by a higher authority, either the Special Assistant Agent or the Agent himself.

Another loop-hole in the Act has also to be pointed out. Section 61 of the Code of Civil Procedure, it should be noted, is not applicable to the Agencies of the Madras Province and, as a consequence, the aboriginal in these areas is not protected against the attachment of a part of his crops necessary to maintain himself and his family until the next harvest. The Madras Agency Tracts Interest and Land Transfer Act too has failed to extend that protection to the aboriginal since ' immovable property', as defined in the Act, does not include ' standing crops.'

According to Agency Rule 31, cattle, seed grain and agricultural tools can be exempted from attachment, if so directed by the Court, but this is less than the protection given in the non-agency areas under section 61 of the Code of Civil Procedure.

A review of the working of Act I of 1917 is necessary from the Government's point of view to know how the Act has worked and how much of tribesmen's lands have passed into other hands. An occasion for this will be the time of survey and settlement which should be completed as early as possible.

Co-operative Credit and Marketing

30. The sowcar is more interested in the produce than in the land as such and, even after alienation is totally prohibited, the hillmen will continue to be entrapped by him as long as they stand in need of easy credit. As matters stand at present, the crops are invariably pledged in advance to the sowcar, and, at the time of harvest, the sowcar fixes the price at arbitrarily low rates and the hillmen are not in a position to bargain. The facilities to obtain credit are a crying need; and equally so is the necessity for favourable marketing facilities. Multi-purpose co-operative societies can alone meet these needs. There will be opposition from vested interests to these co-operative enterprises in the Agencies but, since the Co-operative department has recently gained wide experience of large trading schemes, there is little need for fear that they will not be able to overcome these initial difficulties. As the tribesmen are illiterate, for the first few years the Co-operative department will have to supply the personnel to work these tribal co-operative stores, depots and credit organizations.

Money-lending and Money-lenders

31. In addition to the money-lenders from the districts, Kabuliwallahs also invade the Agency. Some businessmen have combined money-lending with other business. Rate of interest is half anna per rupee, but since the tribesmen are poor at accounts, they are easily duped and often, under threat, they pay interest at unbelievable rates. Money-lenders have to be banned * from the Agencies

* *See* clause 7 of the Fifth Schedule to the Draft Constitution of India. Money-lending is proposed to be banned.

immediately after credit societies for the benefit of the tribesmen are set up. In the interim period, money-lenders should be controlled by measures on the lines adopted by the Bombay Government. (Appendix III.)

(1) A licence should be prescribed for money-lending transactions, direct or indirect, with members of the backward classes in the Partially Excluded Areas. Even tribesmen must take out such licences, as otherwise they will be employed as the tools of sowcars.

(2) It should be made a penal offence punishable with imprisonment, as well as fine, to lend money or goods on interest to members of the tribes in the Agencies except with a licence.

(3) To forestall evasion, the definition of the offence should be made to include transactions in which the borrower gives a receipt or a promissory note for an amount greater than that which he actually receives.

(4) The licence should be liable to forfeiture for breach of the regulations.

(5) Recoveries, both of the old and new debts, from members of the hill tribes in any other form except in cash should be prohibited and penalized.

32. The Valmikis or Konda Malas are recent immigrants to the Agencies, but are now included among Hill Tribes and enjoy all the protection which tribesmen get. These Valmikis are as bad exploiters and money-lenders as any from the plains. They should be removed from the list of Hill Tribes. (The Government of Orissa have recently dealt similarly with the Panos who occupy a position comparable to that of the Valmikis.)

Muttahdar System

33. Regarding the customary payments, the following quotation is given from the evidence of Sri Amarayya Setty of Chodavaram in Madugula : " The Muttahdars ill-treat the ryots. Vetti labour is being extracted. They do not issue receipts for the kist collected. They collect Rs. 2 for every plough. At the time of marriage of the people of the village the Muttahdars take some *katnam* (fee) from them. It varies from Rs. 5 to 50 according to the status of the party. *Rajalanchanams* are given in the shape of vegetables. The Muttahdars compel the ryots to plough their lands free. They also extract *jatti* work, i.e., carrying loads without wages. Each ryot has to work for the Muttahdar for about a week to ten days in a year, both men and women. Sometimes only meals are given. Wages are never given. "

There are more items of mamools to be added to the list given above.

While the Muttahdar system has its evils it will not be possible to replace it in the near future. The Muttahdars being tribesmen themselves are, to a certain extent, benevolent despots and the

present Muttahdar system, with some modifications, can be turned into a useful institution. There is a case for a full detailed enquiry being made into the mamools and also for making attempts to restrict them, particularly free labour (*vetti*) to the Muttahdar, to the absolute minimum. (*Vetti* has been dealt with in para. 28).

Complaints have been made against the Muttah system in some so-called hill tribes conferences promoted by plainsmen and held in the towns of the plains. One who visits the hill villages can see that the Muttahdar is not such a sinner. He is by no means a nit Zamindar. Only socially he enjoys some prestige. The only way, in fact, in which he shows his superior status is to take a large number of wives. A Muttahdar can marry up to seven wives and many have four or five each already. The vacancies are perhaps reserved in view of a windfall in the event of an elder brother's death. The younger takes on the elder's widows in the *Vali-Sugriva-fashion*, but most Muttahdars are likely to be the eldest ones of their families.

Drink

34. On the question of prohibiting the sale of arrack to the tribesmen there is no difference of opinion whatsoever, but on the question of the prohibition of palmyrah and jeelugu toddy there is some difference of opinion. The evidence given by the Special Assistant Agent, Kovvur (page 64 under 'Koyas') is noteworthy in this respect. The Koyas, according to this officer, consume toddy with a very low alcohol content and do not get intoxicated. What they consume is almost sweet toddy, and it is more in the nature of food than an intoxicant. It would be advisable to continue to allow the tapping of sweet toddy and provide adequate prohibition staff to detect and stop the illicit manufacture of alcoholic beverage from the tapped trees. The chief reason for this suggestion is that they have little or no food for months and sweet toddy supplies this want to some extent. While, in the non-tribal areas, Government, in the interests of prohibition, may completely ban the tapping even for sweet toddy, in view of the famine-striken condition of most tribesmen for months, it is felt that an exception should be made in the case of tribal areas with regard to banning of production of sweet toddy. Sympathetic administrators have suggested that prohibition should be extended last to the Agencies so that the ameliorative measures to increase the food available for the tribesmen may, meanwhile, be actively worked.

The Savaras particularly and other tribes require toddy for religious purposes. This need will have to be borne in mind when prohibition is introduced in the Agencies.

Education

35. There are about 324 schools,—Government, District Board and aided,—with about 6,000 aboriginal pupils. The schools are under the Agents' supervision and are inspected by them and the Assistant Agents during their tours. Except a small number who

have been employed as peons, forest guards and teachers, there is little indication that education has done them much good. The majority must be lapsing into illiteracy. There is midday feeding in some schools and also scholarships are being given by Government, but, in spite of these arrangements, the usual complaint is that the parents are averse to sending the children to schools as they can be more usefully employed at home, specially during and immediately before harvest. The hillmen cannot be blamed for this. What is required is a rationalization of the vacations to suit the seasonal economic work of the tribal folk when children are needed at home (*See* ' Economics ' under ' Koyas ').

The Agents, every year, have been asking for more schools while, at the same time, complaining about the hillmen's unwillingness to send their children to schools. The tribesmen's unwillingness to send the children to schools will be less, if the schools were nearer than they are now to their homes, and, to bring the schools nearer to the prospective pupils, the number of schools should be increased.

The Committee knew at least a few instances of hill schools remaining closed for months because the teachers went on leave and substitutes were not forthcoming. The teachers are plainsmen, strangers to the hills and tribal culture, and often ignorant of the tribal dialect. They cannot, moreover, stand the attacks of malaria to the extent the hillmen can. It is no wonder then that education given by them is not attractive to the children or to the parents.

The Hyderabad experiment of training tribesmen themselves as teachers (*see* Appendix III) is worth copying in this respect.

The teachers now engaged in elementary schools in tribal areas should be asked to learn tribal languages.

The Agents report that scholarships and books are given in deserving cases. All tribal children should be regarded as deserving of encouragement by way of more scholarships. The tribal children should be completely exempted from the payment of school fees and should also be supplied with school books.

The medium of instruction for the Koya and Savara children should be their dialects in the first three or four classes. The difficulty of learning Telugu first is a real handicap in the case, particularly, of Savara children. So Savara children seldom attend schools. It should be possible to have Savaras trained as teachers to be employed in village schools with a predominant Savara population.

Agricultural Education.—Aboriginal boys should be taken as apprentices in agricultural farms.

Industrial schools should be started at suitable centres in the Agencies to give training in handicrafts for which the hill children

have a natural aptitude. The tribesmen have good team spirit which should be canalised into lucrative channels.

For the Koya dialect, all the witnesses were unanimous in suggesting the Telugu script. For the Savara language, the international phonetic script had been suggested by Sri Gidugu Ramamurthy Pantulu, but it is extremely doubtful whether this is a practicable suggestion. The bulk of the Savara population is in the Province of Orissa. If the Savara language is to have a script, it can be used both in the Madras and the Orissa Provinces; the two Governments will do well to hold consultations on this point. The Devanagari script which has been adopted for Gondi in Hyderabad seems to be the convenient script, if local considerations such as the advantage of learning the Telugu script in the Telugu areas and the Oriya script in the Oriya-speaking areas, are not considered a decisive factor in the adoption of the two latter.

Medical Aid

36. At present there are the following institutions for medical aid :—

	Hospitals.	Dispensaries.
East Godavari	2	8
West Godavari	1	3
Vizagapatam	..	7 (one not functioning).

The figures, as given in the Agent's reports, for hospital attendance, club plainsmen and hillmen together. No separate figures are available as to the number of hillmen using the hospitals. Only a very small percentage of those attending these few hospitals and dispensaries are likely to be tribesmen.

It often happens that of these two or three dispensaries remain closed for want of medical staff, just as schools remain closed when teachers desert them during the malaria season.

The Koyas clamour for salvarsan treatment for *yaws* but this is still in short supply. There should be mobile medical units going from place to place. If motor vehicles cannot be given to all the units ponies would be most suitable in many areas.

At present, a staff of seven midwives in East Godavari and three in West Godavari is serving the needs of the people in the respective Agencies. Information regarding Vizagapatam Agency is not available. Dr. G. Sivaram, District Medical Officer, Ellore, made the suggestion to the Committee that tribal midwives who now attend on the tribal women may be trained at Ellore (and other District Headquarters Hospitals) for a short time and may be attached to the travelling medical units proposed above.

Yaws (*Framboesia*), a virulent spirochaetal disease, is prevalent among the Koyas, Reddis and other hill tribes. Popularly it is known as the '*Koya disease*'. It yields rapidly to treatment with 'neosalvarsan', but during the war this drug was in short supply.

A determined effort to eradicate this ghastly disease should be made as early as possible. In this connection, it is useful again to point out the example of the Hyderabad Government who rooted out the disease in the tribal areas of the Nizam's Dominions by making a touring party of medical men go around the tribal areas and giving injections to hundreds of men and women afflicted with this disease.

Anti-malarial operations.—Out of the four anti-malarial schemes sanctioned by Government, the Krishnadevipeta Anti-malarial Extension Scheme has been in progress for the past fourteen years and has brought good results; the Araku Valley Scheme, the Paderu Anti-malarial Scheme and the Chintapalle Anti-malarial Scheme have also been progressing since their introduction in 1944. The operations of the two investigation sub-stations at Lammasinghi and Pedavalasa for the Chintapalle Scheme are in good progress. This urgent work has to be further extended, especially at sites selected for colonization schemes. Though an anti-malarial scheme has been sanctioned for Paderu the place is not reachable by road; the construction of a road connecting Chintapalle and Paderu, and Paderu and Araku is an immediate necessity.

Ordeal

37. One repugnant custom that requires to be interfered with by the Government came to the notice of the Committee during its tours in the Northern Circars. Some forms of ordeals (*see* page 59 under ' Koyas ' for details) are reported to be used by the tribal panchayat in their judicial proceedings against caste offences. These ordeals will have to be put a stop to.

Gaming Rights

38. There is no special problems or complaints regarding the gaming rights of the hillmen in the forests areas, but considerable difficulty is experienced by the tribesmen in securing gun licences.

CHAPTER III

THE NON-AGENCY TRIBES

39. The hill tribes inhabiting the non-Agency districts of the Province are about fifty in number and their population is approximately six lakhs. Some twelve tribes (viz., Aranadan, Dombo, Kadan, Karimpalan, Kattunayakan, Kudiya, Kudubi, Kurichchan, Kuruman, Malasar, Mavilan and Pano) appear in Part I (2) of the Schedule of the Government of India (Scheduled Castes) Order, 1936, though most of them are not untouchables. Why the Kurichiya or Malasar should be listed with " untouchables " is not at all clear. In the list of communities eligible for help by the Labour Department, several primitive tribes are also given as Scheduled Castes, though, for purposes of franchise, they are not Scheduled Castes.

The vagaries of these classifications have led to some interesting situations illustrated by the Marathis of South Kanara. Till about 1935, they were entitled to the concessions doled by the Labour Department, but with the coming in of the Government of India Act, 1935, in the Provinces, they found they were removed from the list of " Depressed Classes ". They petitioned to the Government and got themselves re-included in the list of " eligible " communities but not being an untouchable caste they were not " scheduled " for the purpose of franchise. The Kurichiya in Malabar, whose caste status is similar to that of the Marathi is however among the " Scheduled Castes " though he is " touchable ". This is a matter that should be looked into when the question of their franchise is reviewed.

40. The non-Agency tribes live in four main regions or blocks: (1) the Chenchu block in the Nallamalas (Kurnool district); (2) the Malaiyali block of Kollimalais and Shevaroy Hills (Salem district), Kalrayan Hills (South Arcot district), Pachaimalais (Trichinopoly district) and Javadi Hills (North Arcot district); (3) the Malayalam-speaking and (4) the Tamil and Kanarese-speaking tribes of the Western Ghats, the former concentrated in the Wynaad and Gudalur taluks and the latter in the Nilgiris and Coimbatore districts. These tribes are described in Chapters VII—XI.

The Government call for an annual report on the material condition and progress of aboriginal tribes and very backward communities from the Collectors of 11 districts [G.O. Ms. No. 51, Public (Reforms), dated 9th January 1937]. The reports cover 25 selected tribes. The Government have little or no official information regarding the condition of the remaining tribes. The Forest and the Labour Departments, between them, do what welfare work is done by the State for these tribal population. The work of the Labour Department for the tribes is however very negligible, being confined to the award of a few scholarships. Since they are the dwellers of the forests, the Forest Department and

the tribes are inter-dependant. To keep the tribes contented and in good humour is in the interests of this Department. Except in the Nallamalais where welfare work as such is done by the Forest Department, in other areas, the Department expects returns by way of service from the tribesmen for the concessions and favours given to the latter. The tribesmen however are not the special concern either of the Labour Department or the Forest Department. The Annual Report from the Collectors alone is there to keep Government reminded of the existence of this weakest minority group in our midst. The position of the Government of the Central Province with regard to their aboriginal subjects, described by Mr. W. V. Grigson, is as follows :—" The Government knows little about its aboriginal subjects, has never formulated a consistent policy directed towards their betterment, and has done very little with this specific object in view." It cannot be denied that this is true also of the Madras Government. As in the Central Provinces, " the lack of touch between the aboriginal and the Government departments has been very marked." The District Officer who takes a more than passing interest in the tribes is rather an exception than the rule. In the reports from the districts [in response to G.O. No. 51, Public (Reforms), dated 8th January 1937], there is mention of only two Collectors having toured the tribal areas to look into the special problems of the tribesmen.

The problems such as the loss of their lands to plains sowcars and traders, chronic indebtedness to usurious money-lenders, the tyranny of petty officials who force free labour and " supplies ", lack of facilities for cheap credit on fair terms, dearth of medical and veterinary aid, lack of organized help to sell their produce to their best advantage—all these handicaps are the daily experience of the aboriginals in the non-Agency areas, in a more agonizing and acute form than in the Agencies, for the reason that the exploiters are here far more numerous and the tribes have no special protection as in the Agencies. The sufferings, beginning with land alienation, are all there, but the remedies are more difficult to apply in the case of the non-Agency tribes.

The Kurichiyas of Wynaad and other agricultural tribes have already lost their best lands and are in a most miserable plight. There is no land alienation act to help them. The money-lenders plying their business in the Shevaroys or Wynaad are as bad as, or even worse than, those of the Agencies. Hundreds of the non-Agency tribesmen are employed as labourers in estates where conditions are still notoriously bad. Agrestic serfdom prevails among the Paniyas, Paliyans, etc., but there is no law or organization to look into these matters. The present plight of these scattered jungle folk, particularly the smaller tribes, is so harrowing that a kind of listlessness and loss of hope characterize their mental attitude. Unsympathetic men regard them as stupid and lazy, but do not pause to think what makes them so.

41. Of all the non-Agency tribes, the greatest attention has been paid by the Government in the past to the Chenchus. This has been due to the fact that the Chenchus became violent and gave trouble, particularly to pilgrims to Sree Sailam who had to pass through their territory. It is indeed very strange that the Chenchus turned to robbery and violence. Even the most meek sometimes resist forces that threaten their extermination by means which do not pay in the long run. The Chenchus of Kurnool were, in fact, as peaceful as their brethren on the other side of the river Krishna are to this day. But the change came when the freedom of the jungles which they enjoyed for ages was restricted to intolerable limits by the Forest Regulations on the one hand and the pressure of the plains population on the other. Thousands of them became agrestic slaves to plainsmen under the name Yenadi and Irula. The conservative section that clung to the jungle habitat found that they could neither fish nor hunt nor use the jungle as they did before. So some took to petty banditry which brought on them the attention of the forces of law and order, and the Chenchu came to be regarded as a criminal tribe. To brand the whole tribe as criminal as is done officially is a libel against them. Government, however, recognized that punitive measures against the Chenchus should be followed up by economic reconstruction. A Special Chenchu Officer was appointed to work welfare schemes for the tribe and their rights to collect minor forest produce, and to cultivate forest lands were recognized, but the post of Special Chenchu Officer was abolished after a brief period of two years; the post of the Assistant Chenchu Officer is now kept in abeyance; and his work is distributed among the forest rangers. Government now spend about Rs. 30,000 annually on Chenchu welfare schemes, which include aid to cultivation, co-operation, education and medical treatment.

Even after so much work and expenditure the visitor to any Chenchu Forest Settlement does not get a favourable impression of the work. The men and women appear most miserable; the schools and children are most depressing sights, and the conviction is forced upon him that there is something radically wrong somewhere. Crime, we understand, is on the increase among the Chenchus and a corporate spirit is lacking in the settlements. These are, no doubt, symptoms of maladjustment. What the Government is now trying to do is slowly to change the food gatherer who lived on wild roots and wild game to a settled labourer and farmer. This economic revolution has to be effected in a very careful manner and its working should not be left in the hands of the subordinates of the Forest Department. We noted in the matter of the Atmakur Co-operative Society that several of the Chenchus did not know that the Society was theirs, but took it as a Government imposition on them. Why have they not yet understood this simple fact about an organization which exists for them?

It is therefore suggested that, as early as possible, even before the Government considers and gives effect to the main suggestions in this report (namely, the creation of a department for tribal welfare work) the full-time post of Special Chenchu Officer should be revived and that he should take over the work for the Chenchus now done by the Forest Department. He should look into the remarks made by Doctor Christoph Von Fürer-Haimendorf about the 'Chenchu Forest Settlements' in his book * on Chenchus, and see where the remedies lie.

42. The Chenchus are slowly taking to cultivation, including wet cultivation. They have been given interest-free loans for the purchase of bulls, carts and agricultural tools. There are Co-operative Societies at Indreswaram and Atmakur doing credit and purchase work for minor forest produce. There are 24 Chenchu schools and about half-a-dozen boys are in the High School classes, who live in a Chenchu Home at Atmakur. A few Chenchus work as teachers and a few are employed as forest guards and watchers. It should be possible to have Chenchu teachers in more schools. The members of the Committee saw in one Chenchu school the poor children being scared out of their wits by a very unimaginative old teacher from the plains, who obviously had very little consideration for them. Better trained Chenchus should be the teachers in these schools. Some kind of craft-based system of instruction should be introduced in these aboriginal schools. At present, the only attraction presented by the schools seems to be food the children get.

43. That the Chenchus are keen on extending cultivation is quite obvious. In one place, they showed the members of the Committee an irrigation tank which could be easily repaired. Cultivable land is in plenty in the Chenchu land and it can easily be developed to settle more Chenchus. Malaria control is also easier in the Nallamalais.

44. The tribes of the second tribal block, the Malaiyalis of the Shevaroys, etc., are mainly agricultural, but suffer from chronic indebtedness. Those who are landless among the tribesmen work as labourers under farmers or as estate coolies. Their problems are similar to those of other hill tribes who have developed an agricultural economy. Mr. V. Subbarayan of the Indian Police, in his notes for the Committee's use has made a suggestion that the hill tracts of Salem, South Arcot, North Arcot and Tiruchirappalli may be constituted into a separate tribal administrative unit—Malainadu —for intense development purposes.

45. The Wynaad and the contiguous areas narrowly escaped being declared a partially excluded area during the period preliminary to the passing of the Government of India Act of 1935. Several agricultural, artisan, and also landless tribes inhabit this area. The recruitment of tribesmen for work in the plantations is

* Pages 317-319.

another important economic factor in the Western Ghats. Agrestic serfdom is also reported to be prevalent in several concealed farms in these areas (*see* under Paniyas, Chapter VII). The agricultural tribes are few, but they are numerically larger than the artisan and landless food-gathering tribes. The former have to be helped to get and retain land and improve their modes of cultivation while the latter, in most cases, have to be settled on land which should first be provided and their natural talent for handicrafts developed. The problem is similar to that presented by the Chenchus, namely, that of converting the food-gatherer into a food producer and farmer. Welfare work should proceed here also on the lines adopted for the Chenchus.

46. Full particulars of the Wynaad Land Colonization Scheme are given in G.O. No. 5024, Development, dated the 21st December 1945 (for a summary of the scheme, see Appendix V). But it is strange that no mention has been made of the aboriginal tribes (Mulla Kurumbar, Paniyas, Thachanad Muppans, Wynaadan Chettis and Kattunayakans) who are widely concerned if anything is going to be done for the development of this area. One Wynaadan Chetti, by name Ambalavayal Kesava Chetti, head of a large matrilineal family has been owning about 25 acres of wet land, a number of orange gardens which are now in a flourishing state and 15 acres of dry land in this area. The Committee was told that, for purposes of the colonization scheme, this family was being evicted from the possession of the wet and dry lands and also of a number of orange gardens. We were told that other aboriginal farmers are also having similar trouble. The Administrative Officer gave the Committee to understand that to bring the whole colony area under one uniform administration private owners should not be allowed to be in independent possession of lands in the colony area. While this may be convenient for the administration, the hardship it throws upon aboriginal families who have laboured hard for generations in this area and the injustice in the whole series of transactions are matters which should be gone into. The aboriginal tribes, especially Wynaadan Chettis, are excellent farmers and should be encouraged to participate in the colonization scheme subject to the conditions which apply to other colonists.

47. About the Nilgiris and Coimbatore tribal block and other parts of Tamilnad, the committee did not get any material worth mentioning nor were the problems connected with the tribes inhabiting this block even informally discussed. Their problems are, however, not significantly different from those of the Malabar tribes.

48. Mr. V. Subbarayan, Indian Police, the former Secretary, in his notes for the use of the Committee, has elaborated a scheme for the creation of new administrative divisions, taluks or sub-taluks from the existing undeveloped tribal areas and has suggested that self-sufficient " gramas " or " communes " for the tribes may be organized in these areas. The natural resources of the

locality should be "owned" by the communes subject to the control of the Government and their ultimate ownership. The tribal institutions are to be the centre around which to build up the commune. The administrative unit will be the tribal panchayat, but the executive officer will be the welfare officer appointed by Government and all Government departments concerned with land, forest, industries, etc., will work through him. The Panchayat will be the modernized version of the council of tribal elders. Non-tribesmen will be admitted into the panchayats only in an advisory capacity. The matters entrusted to the panchayats will be—

(*a*) The assignment and distribution of land and collection of land revenue.

(*b*) Allotment of work on public works—channels, roads, buildings and in forests.

(*c*) The working of forest coupes and collection of forest produce.

(*d*) Sanitary measures—the dispensary and maternity ward.

(*e*) The dairy.

(*f*) The schools—the boys' school and the girls' school.

Federating a number of "Grama Panchayats", there will be Taluk Panchayat with the following functions:—

(1) The maintenance and administration of a warehouse and stores.

(2) The maintenance and administration of a granary.

(3) A credit and savings bank.

(4) A hospital.

(5) A veterinary centre.

(6) Agricultural demonstration farm.

(7) Anti-malarial centre.

(8) Police station.

(9) As a Court of Justice in small causes and as a jury in others.

(10) A sylviculture farm with a forest range officer.

(11) Sericulture farm.

(12) Engineering-Supervisor.

A few such taluks, in the four tribal blocks and the agencies, will constitute a "Nadu" with the following public servants:—

(i) An Assistant Commissioner of the Welfare department who should co-ordinate the work of all others.

(ii) An Engineer.

(iii) A Sylvicultural Officer.

(iv) A Medical Officer.

(v) A Revenue Divisional Officer.

(vi) A Superintendent of Police or an Assistant Superintendent of Police.

(vii) A Munsif-Magistrate.

These tribal 'Nadus' may remain now within the districts to which they are attached, subject to the autonomy of their villages and taluks being maintained. The Nadus shall be excluded from the district boards or other local boards.

The case of Malainadu is an exceptional one. It is now divided up and parcelled out among the four districts, Salem, North Arcot, South Arcot and Tiruchirappalli. The whole of the 'Nadu' should eventually be a district and, for the present may be attached to the Salem district. In the alternative, the four district administrations must act in their respective spheres through the Assistant Commissioner of the Nadu.

This is a rough outline of Mr. Subbarayan's bold scheme. It has much to commend itself to the attention of those interested in the tribes. Our districts have not been demarcated on any rational principle and their present boundaries are the result of historical accidents or political exigencies. Bold thinking and planning and vigorous action are necessary to implement the suggestion, but it is worth serious consideration. If lasting and quick results are to be produced, boldly conceived plans are absolutely necessary. It is a great pity that the Committee, as a whole, could not discuss Mr. Subbarayan's suggestion.

Tribal areas have not now got much of Government—Governmental activities are almost nil in their midst. The tribesmen just exist and Government does some policing, and financiers and exploiters use the tribesmen to their personal advantage. Local self-government institutions are far from them. Mr. Subbarayan's scheme would introduce real local self-government into those areas and put some self-respect into the tribesmen; it will be real nation-building in the backward areas of the Province.

49. On the preventive side, money-lenders' activities have to be controlled, for which, some form of licensing on the lines of the suggestions made for the Agencies will have to be considered.

50. On the positive side, landless tribesmen should be assigned cultivable land and also helped with loans for the purchase of seed, manure and agricultural tools. Grain banks, wherever possible, are most useful in this respect. This is what is being done in Hyderabad, where the banks give both credit and also maintain stores of articles in demand by the tribesmen.

CHAPTER IV

CRIMINAL TRIBES

The Committee was asked to report on the working of the Criminal Tribes Act. Since the repeal of the operative sections of the Act the only problems to be considered are the future of the settlements and the continuance of the social services such as the general and industrial education for the notoriously criminal tribes, e.g., the Erukalas, Thottia Naicks, Dombos, etc. The repeal of the Act followed by the contemplated repeal of the Habitual Offenders Act would logically lead on to the abolition of all the Criminal Tribes Settlements in the Province in their present form, as the settlements are run under the provisions of the Act. It will be a great pity if the ameliorative and reclamatory work that has been carried on by the Government till now in the settlements and outside were to be given up. There can be no doubt that the extensive reclamation work carried on till now among the Kallars and the Yenadis has been really very useful.

Six settlements, including that of Stuartpuram managed by the Salvation Army Missionaries with state aid, are maintained by the Government. The other five are managed by the Government themselves through the Police.

Stuartpuram Settlement.—The settlers here are all Erukalas. The strength of the settlement was 1,116 in July 1946, which increased to 2,162 by the 23rd November in the same year. Of these, 822 children, 600 women and 462 men are unregistered, 6 women and 54 men registered and 47 women and 171 men under reporting orders. The members of the Committee spent some hours at this settlement. From the evidence recorded, it is quite clear that the manager, Major L. R. Gale (appointed by the Salvation Army), perhaps unconsciously, is giving a Christian bias to the whole atmosphere of the settlement and it is obvious that the educated Hindu residents are resenting this. Some high-handed actions of the manager are referred to in the evidence. There is a volume of feeling against the management being left in the hands of missionaries.

Bitragunta Settlement.—This settlement reminded members of the Committee of Nazi concentration camps. The children being bred behind barbed wires as though they are very dangerous animals were a very tragic sight. Besides those concentrated inside the barbed wire enclosure, there are a number of other settlers staying outside, who have got freedom of movement at least within a specified area. Most of them have been brought from several places and have long ago served out their sentences.

This settlement has 30 acres of land within the barbed wire enclosure, which is divided and allotted to the inmates for cultivation. On the whole, about 600 acres of land inclusive of the 30 acres inside the enclosure are under cultivation; but only 300 acres of land have been allotted to the members of the settlement. There are 200 families, including those outside the enclosure, under the control of the settlement and 200 people cultivate the land (of 300 acres). The settlement was originally started in the year 1912. Till the year 1934, it was managed by the missionaries, when it was taken over by the Government owing to mismanagement (so we are given to understand). Most of the settlers are Erukalas.

Chintaladevi Settlement.—This settlement in Nellore district mainly housing Khanjarbhats showed the obvious mark of thoughtless organization. The unfortunate inmates of the settlement are expected to cultivate the worst lands available. The Committee could notice their great yearning for repatriation to their original homes in the Bombay Presidency. The Deputy Inspector-General's remarks in his latest Administration Report regarding the demoralized condition of the settlers here is really alarming and call for quick remedial measures.

Sitanagaram Settlement.—It was somewhat disconcerting to find at the settlement signs of obvious neglect by the department. A good workshop, a number of spinning wheels and other appliances were rotting under a roof from which a large number of tiles had disappeared. The working of the hospital here too appeared not very satisfactory.

Siddhapuram Settlement (*Kurnool district*).—This settlement was started in 1913 for the benefit of certain Donga Woddars employed by the Public Works Department on the Siddhapuram Tank Project. Until March 1937, it was a voluntary settlement. In 1937, the Government declared the settlement as a regular Criminal Tribes Settlement. The inmates number 612 out of whom 138 are registered members under the Criminal Tribes Act—of whom 64 are notified under sections 11 and 16. Except a few voluntary Lambadi settlers who have never been under the Criminal Tribes Act all others are Woddars.

At the settlement, several of the Donga Woddars stated that they were prepared to settle down and continue to cultivate the lands even if the settlement was abolished. But some of the settlers felt that agricultural labour was something thrust upon them and it was suggested that they were fit only for cooly work. The settlement appeared, on the whole, to be fairly well-managed.

The Committee did not visit the Aziznagar Settlement and the Kallar Reclamation Centres in Tamilnad.

The question of tackling the nomadic habits prevalent among some of the criminal tribes was not gone into by the Committee in any detail. The concensus of opinion of almost all witnesses is that these settlements have not been a success and that these may

be converted into agricultural and industrial colonies. Some witnesses including the District Superintendent of Police, Guntur, suggested that children should altogether be separated from their parents and brought up in hostels untainted. Though the Committee could approve of the benefits of a hostel life, especially in the case of the criminal tribes children, they could not, however, accept the suggestion since it involved cruelty both to the children and the parents.

With the abolition of the operative sections of the Criminal Tribes Act, the need for welfare work among the criminal tribes becomes all the more imperative. The case for continuing the work of the existing settlements and, if possible, extending and improving them is stronger now than it was in the past. The recommendations regarding individual tribes have been given in Part II under the respective criminal tribe, a summary of which is given in Chapter V.

Suggestions have been made that the management of the Criminal Tribes Settlements and also welfare work done for the criminal tribes should not be left in the hands of the police. This opinion has also been expressed by the Deputy Inspector-General in charge of criminal tribes administration in his report for the year 1945–46. If the Government accept the suggestion that a 'new department' should be opened to look after the welfare of the aboriginal and backward communities, the work for the criminal tribes can very well be entrusted to this new department.

CHAPTER V

GENERAL SUGGESTIONS AND SUMMARY OF OTHER SUGGESTIONS

GENERAL SUGGESTIONS

Department of Tribal Welfare

1. The attention of Government is invited to the information given in Appendix III on Aboriginal Policies and Programmes in other Provinces of India. It has now been very clearly recognized that the tribes, if they are not to languish and go under, should be made the concern of a special department. The Hyderabad Government have appointed an Adviser for Tribes and Backward Classes as the head of such a department attached to the Revenue Secretariat. The Bombay Government have a separate department to look after the interests of the tribes and backward classes. The Central Provinces Government have approved a five-year plan for the rehabilitation of the tribes, the cost of the scheme being estimated at Rs. 90 lakhs. The Thakkar Committee has recommended a separate department for the all-round advancement of the tribal population of Orissa, and the Orissa Government have created a Backward Classes Welfare Branch in the Planning and Reconstruction Department. With these examples in our neighbourhood, no lengthy reasons need be advanced for the establishment of a "Department of Tribal Welfare" for this Province, with a senior administrator at its head. This officer who might be designated "Commissioner for Tribal Welfare" will be in charge of all the special work to be undertaken by Government for the improvement of the material conditions of the aboriginal tribes and other backward communities, including those designated 'criminal'. The Commissioner for Tribal Welfare will have directive and supervisory functions over the special welfare work undertaken in the Agencies also.

Six Tribal Welfare Officers, it is suggested, should be appointed to work under the Commissioner and they will be in charge of the following areas :—

Agency districts	2
Nallamalais and adjoining areas	1
Malaiyali area in the Shevaroys, Kalrayan, Kolli, Javadi and Pachamalai Hills	1
Wynaad, Nilgiris, Coimbatore, etc., areas ..	2
Total ..	6

Other officers of the new department would replace the Police staff now in charge of the Kallar, Yenadi and other reclamation schemes and Criminal Tribes Settlements. A diploma in social

service such as that of the Tata School in Bombay should be considered as an additional qualification for new entrants to this Department.

Representation in the Legislature and Local Bodies

2. Most of the tribesmen and most of the tribal voters—we do not know how many they are—belong to the general constituencies and, for theoretical purposes, it may be said that the representatives from the various general constituencies are also their representatives. But, as a matter of fact, the non-Agency tribesmen's interests have seldom, if at all, been brought to the notice of the public by anyone. Even the appointment of the Aboriginal Tribes Welfare Enquiry Committee was the result of representations made on behalf of the Agency tribes. Since, as has been already said, these hill tribes constitute our weakest minority, it is suggested that their cause and their interests should be represented in the Provincial Legislature either by a nominated representative or by a representative returned indirectly by a suitable method of election. At the same time, it should be pointed out that, in the Central Provinces, it has been found by experience that it is futile to send ill-equipped tribal representatives to local bodies. If a tribesman cannot properly represent them in a local body, it is all the more difficult for him to represent them effectively in the Provincial Legislature. So until such time the tribes themselves would produce effective men whom they can return to the Legislature, non-official social workers or others well-known for their interest in the tribes will be more suitable as representatives for the tribes in the Legislature than ill-equipped tribesmen.

3. At present tribesmen are nominated to the Agency District Boards. To give political education to the tribesmen a small proportion of the seats reserved for them may be thrown open for election.

Podu Cultivation

4. The problem of *podu* cultivation has been discussed in detail in Chapter II. While it is recognized that a large scale *podu* cultivation should be discouraged, limited *podu* in unreserves has to be allowed and it should not be stopped suddenly. The stages in which the tribesmen should be weaned from *podu* described in relation to the Agency tribes should be regarded as holding good in respect of the non-Agency tribes also. When Government deprive them of this means of livelihood it is their duty to provide them with alternative and more permanent means of subsistence.

Tribal Relation with Forest Department

5. The Forest Department can do a lot for the tribes. It is the duty of the department to help the tribesmen in their own interests to be more efficient and to be better off economically. If more

forest work is done departmentally, the Government themselves would become the largest employer of tribal labour and contractors will not then be in a position to exploit the tribesmen.

6. The departmental management, particularly of minor forest produce, is strongly recommended.

7. In some places, officers of the Forest Department themselves said that estimates sanctioned for the works were sometimes so low that fair wages could not be paid for tribal labourers. Government Departments should set a better example in this respect and see that fair wages are always given to the tribesmen, and that, on a daily wage basis. Otherwise, they have no moral justification in enforcing the payment of fair wages by the forest contractors.

8. To put more money into the tribesmen's hands, the tribesmen should be allowed to collect dead wood for sale. Other items in the list of minor forest produce which will not appreciably affect the income of the Forest Department should also be allowed to be collected for sale by the tribesmen *from within a prescribed area round their settlements.* The Bombay Government are now allowing such liberal concessions to the hill tribes of the Bombay Province.

9. The "Forest Village System" should be vigorously worked as the experiments in that line seem to have been useful both to the department and to the tribesmen. It will be useful if the departmental officers could have a small fund from which to advance petty loans to the tribesmen in forest villages in times of scarcity.

Co-operation

10. The Co-operative Department can help the tribesmen by starting multi-purpose co-operative societies. The difficulties of working co-operative societies for hillmen have already been referred to in Chapter II. The societies in tribal areas will have to be run with the help of staff provided by the Co-operative Department itself. Stores on the lines of those that are now being organized in the Agencies will be a real boon in other tribal areas also. Credit facilities provided by the societies alone would drive the money-lenders from the tribal villages.

Land

11. A modified form of the Agency Tracts Interest and Land Alienation Act, 1917, it is suggested, would help the non-Agency tribesmen also from being deprived of their possessions in land by sowcars. Alienation of land from tribesmen to non-tribesmen should be checked by suitable legislation as early as possible.

12. The rules to enforce the provisions of this law will vary in different areas under differing tenancy regulations, and have to be framed after local enquiries. The local officials should be asked (1) to compile a schedule of tribes whose lands should be declared

inalienable and (2) to suggest the areas in which the legislation should be operative. This must be done within the shortest time possible.

13. The first right of tribesmen to vacant land in areas predominantly tribal should also be recognized. The areas where this right should be given should also be listed. Assignment of land in these areas to other castes should be thought of only after the District Collector is satisfied that no suitable tribal claimant is available.

14. In areas where non-aboriginals have deprived tribesmen of all good land, and in other areas where there are landless tribesmen living in privately owned forest areas, Government should acquire land under the Land Acquisition Act for the public purpose of aboriginal rehabilitation.

15. In the Araku Valley Scheme and the Wynaad Land Colonization Scheme, the Government have acquired tribesmen's land, of course, on payment of the usual compensation. This should, as far as possible be avoided, since it causes great hardship to the tribesmen; the tendency for them is to waste the cash and become landless; and it is not known whether they would ever be allotted, under the scheme, the same land which they lost or equally good land. Complaints against this kind of compulsory acquisition by Government were heard at Wynaad. It is harsh to deprive a tribesman of his land and the orchards at Government rates, and then leave him in doubt whether he would get any land.

16. Another important matter in the Agencies relates to the settling of the tribesmen who at present inhabit the areas, which would be submerged under water when the Ramapadasagar Project is completed. The tribesmen should be transferred to suitable areas in the neighbourhood and arrangements for this should be made sufficiently early.

17. An effort should be made by all District Officers to appoint tribesmen as village officers. The Hyderabad Government have opened a training school for this purpose. The Central Provinces Government's aboriginal policy also envisages such a step. Its advantages are too obvious to need mention.

Education

18. The existing schools in the aboriginal areas, samples of which the Committee members saw, are mere apologies for schools; and, if we had societies for the prevention of cruelty to children, the authorities running these schools would have to face their action. These schools are just very bad and dirty copies of the schools of the plains and betray complete lack of imagination, thought and even elementary interest in the children on the part of the Inspectorate and the higher authorities. The difficulties of getting suitable teachers from the plains, the unwillingness of the tribesmen to send their children to schools, and lack of funds for equipment and such other excuses will be trotted out in justification

of the present condition of these schools. But one good school is better than the twenty-four bad schools in the Chenchu area. Good examples will be followed and naturally imitated. The school run for the Gonds by the Bhumijan Seva Mandal of the Central Provinces is an ideal school worth copying in this Province, at least, in three or four selected areas.

19. The education in tribal schools should be craft-based and should be suited for the cultural back-ground of the tribes. No pucca buildings are required here. Most tribal children have natural aptitude for handicrafts, particularly carpentry and wood-work. In selecting the chief craft for the basic school, this factor should be taken into consideration. Cotton, for example, will be costly and inconvenient to get in most tribal areas, and this would make spinning unsuitable as a basic craft.

20. Aboriginal youths should be trained as teachers, as is done in Hyderabad, to staff schools in tribal areas. This should be done first in the Agencies by starting a training school for aboriginal teachers.

21. To teach the tribes better modes of agriculture, small farms should be a feature of all tribal schools. The games should be those prevalent among the tribes. Archery, fishing and trapping games and tribal dances may be mentioned as examples.

22. Special Readers for school use should be produced for the larger aboriginal tribal tracts, particularly the Agencies.

23. Prizes for regular attendance and on passing examinations, and bonuses to teachers for every aboriginal child who passes the Fifth Standard may be tried as inducements in addition to those now given by Government.

24. Rationalisation of holidays is another imperative need. The longer vacations should coincide, in tribal schools, with the sowing and harvesting periods when children would be needed at home by the parents. The weekly holiday and other occasional holidays also should suit local tribal conditions.

25. An educational expert will have to look into the above suggestions in detail and draw up a sound scheme for tribal education after a thorough preliminary study. The Director of Public Instruction, it is suggested, may be requested to initiate this inquiry, and when the Tribal Welfare Department is formed, the services of this expert may be placed at the disposal of that Department.

Tribal Welfare Fund

26. The need for an Agency Development Fund has been discussed in Chapter II. This fund is for the purpose of economic development of the whole area of the Agencies.

To facilitate the financing of welfare schemes, specially intended for the backward tribes, there should be a "Provincial Aboriginal Welfare Trust Fund" with an annual grant from the Provincial Government. The Provincial Government should also ask for grants to this fund from the Central Government. It is

understood that such grants have already been made to the Government of Assam.

Prohibition

27. Most of our tribes have no social sentiment against drink. For this reason, it is more difficult for them to understand the significance of prohibition than for the average Hindu. Total prohibition will mean real hardship in the case of certain tribes such as the Jatapus and the Savaras of the Vizagapatam Agency and Kurichiyas of Wynaad who use toddy for religious purposes. In their present state of education considerable propaganda will be necessary before these tribesmen understand the benefits of prohibition. Special efforts, therefore, in the first place will have to be made to educate them about the advantages of abstention from alcoholic drinks and to make them understand the difficulties which the Administrative Departments will have to face if the tribesmen are to be allowed to tap toddy palms even for religious purposes. Since religion means so much to these ignorant people, an order suddenly stopping all tapping would appear to them as a very harsh interference with their religious practices to which they are more deeply attached than most of the plains people. It is suggested that the prohibition authorities should look into this question very carefully and give relief to them during the initial period of prohibition, and, if it is administratively possible, a strictly limited number of trees may be allowed to be tapped on condition that the toddy is to be used only for absolutely essential religious purposes. The prohibition authorities will do well to use tribal headmen to help them in the propaganda for prohibition.

Public Health and Medical Relief

28. In anti-malarial operations, at present, the aboriginal community is not made any real use of. If the tribesmen are educated in the use of insecticides, they can help very much in the campaign against malaria.

29. Touring medical units for men and live-stock are the most popular suggestions made by medical and veterinary officers. More stationary dispensaries are also necessary.

Industries

30. The minor industries which the Government might encourage in the tribal areas are numerous. What industries will suit each locality is a matter which the Industries Department should be able to find out without much trouble. Instead of being collectors of crude raw products from the forests, the tribesmen can be trained to do the preliminary processing of dozens of articles. The first need will be to produce cheaply, the numerous simple tools which they require; there should be facilities to repair these tools and also to repair carts, etc., which, we hope, the tribesmen will begin to own in course of time. The artisan tribes, such as

the Kammaras, Vettu Kurumbars and Irulas, are quite good at smithy and ought to be encouraged and their technical skill improved. The Gadaba youth will certainly take to weaving and dyeing and pisciculture.

31. The Lambadis are now great grazers of cattle. They and other tribes who look after the villagers' cattle ought to be made use of for breeding improved strains of cattle. Some good work is already being done in Kurnool district. This work may be usefully extended to the Toda area in the Nilgiris and the Irula area in the Coimbatore and Malabar. Dairying has been tried on a large scale in the Nilgiris during the war for military purposes, and there is no reason why, for the benefit of the tribes, it should not be tried under the ægis of the Provincial Government.

When a Department for Tribal Welfare is formed, it will no doubt get expert knowledge on these minor industrial matters which will help the tribesmen by adding a little more to their income.

Non-official Social Service Organizations

32. This Province unfortunately lacks non-official social service organizations interested in the aborigines (Adivasis). In refreshing contrast to this, Bombay has the Bhil Seva Sangh and the Central Province has the Gond Seva Mandal. Dr. Verrier Elwin and Mr. Shamarao Hivale have been doing very valuable work for the Gonds and other tribes in the Central Provinces. "Before they came here", the Gonds now say, "moustaches of the officials turned up; now they hang down". The Ramakrishna Mission, the Servants of India Society and other social service organizations should be approached by Government to interest themselves in the aborigines and the so-called criminal tribes of this Province.

Anthropological Studies

33. These hill tribes of South India, in spite of their miserable plight, are of considerable interest to students of history of human culture. No systematic efforts have been made to study them in detail, on the lines of the researches now done by Dr. Verrier Elwin in Central Provinces or Dr. Haimendorf in Hyderabad and Assam. The Todas of the Nilgiris are well-known all over the world in academic circles for their very interesting institutions. The languages of the Savaras, Gadabas and Koyas and the dialectal peculiarities of several of the tribes of the Western Ghats are all worth intensive study. To attach an anthropologist to the Department of Welfare is a suggestion worth consideration by the Government. The head of the new department will have occasion to use the expert knowledge of the anthropologist when some tribal institution or other has to be studied in detail for administrative purposes. But the chief use will be for the advancement of exact sociological knowledge concerning South Indian tribes.

The Government of Orissa appointed Dr. Verrier Elwin as Government Anthropologist for a short period in 1945. Previously he was asked by the Orissa States to report on the tribes of that region and much good has come to the Bhuiyas and Juangs there as a result of his reports.

Customs and Habits

34. Their simple marriage customs (which include even marriage by elopement), pre-marital courtship, absence of seclusion of women, the absence of the question of legitimacy, freedom for widows to remarry, etc., may appear repugnant from the orthodox Hindu point of view, but since they are all healthy practices which civilized Indian communities are gradually aiming at by legislation, should not be interfered with. It will be best if we follow a *laissez faire* policy in these matters, which the local panchayats control and regulate. The efficiency with which the caste panchayat administers caste regulations has been favourably commented upon by Mr. Durba Venkatappayya.

35. Some tribesmen eat beef and the flesh of monkeys and other animals repugnant to the plains people. It is no use ridiculing the tribesmen for eating what food is available for them in their neighbourhood. Visiting officials and others are occasionally found to ridicule the tribesmen for this habit but this is most unwarranted. Eating beef or monkey's flesh is as bad or good as eating mutton. Dr. Verrier Elwin has been blaming Hindu Missionaries working in tribal areas for doing propaganda against beef eating by hill tribes. It is understood that he has even represented about this to Mahatma Gandhi. Vegetarianism is certainly a good ideal provided there is sufficient stock of cereals, pulses, milk, etc. But in the case of the tribesmen who have little of all these things and who live very often on starvation level a little meat food is really valuable. Under these circumstances, propaganda for vegetarianism is just a matter of adding a psychological worry to the physical discomforts from which the hill tribes suffer.

SUMMARY OF OTHER SUGGESTIONS

(CHAPTER I—INTRODUCTION)

36. The references to the hill tribes as " Kolarians." in school books and in other historical accounts should be expunged and the younger generation should be taught that the tribesmen are none other than our own lost brethren who have had to stagnate in the jungles. (Paragraph 3.)

37. The Central Government must be moved to make suitable arrangements during the next census to get at the accurate figures of the several tribes inhabiting each taluk. (Paragraph 5.)

38. The aboriginal tribes are our weakest minority and are without leadership and influence. As the Government have done nothing for them so far, they are entitled to special treatment. (Paragraph 6.)

39. At the time of assignment of land to aborigines, very backward classes and other poor plainsmen, the case of the tribesmen should not be ignored by the Government in favour of more clamorous sections of the plainsmen and backward classes inhabiting the same areas. The hillmen should be given a first preference. (Paragraph 6.)

(CHAPTER II—AGENCIES)

40. All the agency portions of the three districts, West Godavari, East Godavari and Vizagapatam, should be put together to constitute an Agency District and the post of the Agency Commissioner should be revived. (Paragraph 20.)

41. The simple and direct administration of the Agencies should continue. (Paragraph 10.)

42. The question whether a piece of legislation should be extended to the Agencies should be referred to a Standing Committee of the Legislature. (Paragraph 11.)

43. Government by regulations under section 92 (2) of the Government of India Act should continue. The Agencies may be re-named '*Specially Administered District*'. (Paragraph 11.)

44. As long as the Agencies remain backward, the judiciary and the executive should not be separated. (Paragraph 13.)

45. The number of representatives to the Legislature from the Agencies should be increased at least to two. (Paragraph 14.)

46. An Agency Development Board should be set up to work out a plan for the all-round development of the natural resources of the Agencies. (Paragraph 15.)

47. Tribal labour units should be organized to meet the problem of labour shortage in the Agencies. (Paragraph 17.)

48. In the development of the Agencies, immigrants of the *right* type should be encouraged to settle in the proposed "colonies". (Paragraph 18.)

49. In colonization schemes such as Araku, the tribesmen should be assigned land; they should not be reduced to the position of labourers. (Paragraph 19.)

50. Podu cultivation should be restricted in gradual stages, while at the same time, more permanently cultivable land available near tribal settlements should be assigned to them. There should be no sudden compulsory stoppage of *podu*. For *podu* purposes, at least

eight times the annual area required for *podu* should be available for each aboriginal family, which, in the transition period, can be gradually reduced as more permanent land is assigned. (Paragraph 21.)

51. In several estates, good cultivable land is rented away for grazing. This should, wherever possible, be checked in order to secure more land for permanent cultivation. (Paragraph 22.)

52. Forest demarcations, wherever they are too near the villages should be removed to a reasonable distance from the village boundaries to allow of permanent cultivation and grazing. (Paragraph 23.)

53. Wells for drinking water and for irrigation, and also minor irrigation works should be provided on a large scale. (Paragraph 24.)

54. Co-operative stores for tribesmen for the collection of minor forest produce should be started on the lines of the store at Atmakur; also multi-purpose co-operative societies. (Paragraphs 25 and 30.)

55. Government rates of wages for tribal labour should be raised, wherever they are low. (Paragraph 26.)

56. When the tribesmen have gained experience of co-operative undertakings, efforts should be made to enable them to take forest contracts. (Paragraph 27.)

57. Forced labour (*Vetti*) and debt bondage (*Gothi*) are both still in existence, though prohibited by law. The Agency officers should be requested to exert themselves to root these out. Local Congress and social service organizations should be requested to do propaganda in this respect. (Paragraph 28.)

58. Alienation of tribal land for arrears of rent and collusive relinquishments have been going on due to the loopholes in the Agency Tracts Interest and Land Transfer Act, 1917. The working of the Act should be reviewed and the lands that have been lost by the tribesmen on account of unfair dealings should be restored to them. (Paragraph 29.)

59. Money-lending in the Agencies should be regulated by licensing and other checks. (Paragraph 31.)

60. Valmikis should be removed from the list of Agency Hill Tribes. Whether Dombos should be similarly removed is a matter that should be looked into. (Paragraph 32.)

61. The Mamools and *Vetti* exacted by the Muttahdars should be inquired into and should be restricted. The Muttahdar system is capable of being adapted into a useful institution. (Paragraph 33.)

62. The sale of arrack, opium and ganja should be immediately stopped, but the tapping of palms for toddy and the collection of Ippa (mohua) flowers should be prohibited only after ameliorative measures to increase the supply of food to the tribesmen have been actively worked for a few years. Prohibition, before this is done,

will be cruelty to the tribesmen who now tap their own toddy. For several religious ceremonies, the tribesmen require toddy, which need also should be respected when prohibition is introduced. Drink is socially sanctioned and few tribesmen get inebriated. Toddy is a food for them. (Paragraph 34.)

63. (*a*) The number of schools should be greater and scholarships and other inducements increased. Tribesmen should be recruited and trained as teachers; a training school for this purpose may be opened, as in Hyderabad; the medium of instruction in the first three or four classes should be the tribal dialect or language.

(*b*) Industrial schools should be opened in suitable centres in the Agencies as tribesmen have good aptitude for handicrafts. (Paragraph 35.)

64. (*a*) Mobile medical units are essential for the Agencies, in view of the long distances between hill villages and the fewness of stationary dispensaries. (Paragraph 36.)

(*b*) Tribal midwives may be trained in the elements of midwifery in the district headquarters hospitals and attached to the mobile medical units.

(*c*) A campaign against yaws should be immediately organized and this scourage eradicated from the Agencies.

(*d*) Anti-malarial operations which have already produced good results should be further extended; road improvement and extension of communications are badly needed for this purpose. (Paragraph 36.)

65. Some forms of ordeals used in trials by Koya Panchayats should be stopped. (Paragraph 37.)

66. Gun licences should be free. (Paragraph 38.)

67. Tribal panchayats are still useful and live institutions. The means whereby they can be made useful for administrative purposes should be explored. (See Koyas, Konda Reddis, etc., Chapter VI.)

(CHAPTER III—NON-AGENCY TRIBES)

68. Some of the non-agency tribes figure as Scheduled castes for purposes of franchise, while others are not so treated. This is certainly anomalous. It is wrong to bracket them with "untouchables." The errors should be rectified when the question of franchise is reviewed. (Paragraph 39.)

69. The Government's information about the conditions of the tribes is now very limited. Heads of districts should take more personal interest in the tribes and look personally into their problems. Tribal conferences, as are periodically arranged in Hyderabad, will improve the relation between the Government officers and the tribesmen. (Paragraph 40.)

70. The Chenchus do not yet feel that the Government are interested in them. The welfare work for the Chenchus now left in the hands of over-worked forest rangers should be taken over by a Special Chenchu Officer. This post should be revived without delay. The reasons for the increase of crime in the Chenchu settlements should be carefully investigated. (Paragraph 41.)

71. More Chenchu teachers should be employed in Chenchu schools. (Paragraph 42.)

72. More land can be brought under cultivation by bunding up streams and repairing a few existing tanks. (Paragraph 43.)

73. Welfare work for other hill tribes should proceed more or less on the lines of the work for the Chenchus. (Paragraph 45.)

74. The tribesmen's rights in the land colonization schemes in Wynaad are not clearly recognized and they are being deprived of the lands which they have already improved and planted. The harshness in this procedure should be mitigated. (Paragraph 46.)

75. Mr. V. Subbarayan, Indian Police, has made a suggestion that the tribal blocks (including those in the Agencies) should have autonomous " Gramas " or " Communies ", with the grama panchayats undertaking administration connected with land, public works, forests, health, education, etc. At the next higher level of such organizations, there should be taluk panchayats and above them, *nadu* panchayats. This, according to Mr. Subbarayan, is the most effective way of using the tribesmen themselves in the task of their rehabilitation. (Paragraphs 44 and 48.)

76. Money lenders in areas inhabited by tribes should be controlled more or less on the lines suggested for the Agencies (suggestion 59 above). (Paragraph 49.)

77. Land, credit and grain banks, etc., should be provided on the lines followed in Hyderabad. (See Appendix III-A.) Since the tribesmen lack ready cash for transactions, barter should be the basis of a great number of business in these stores, etc. (Paragraph 50.)

78. The pace and extent of anti-malarial operations in the Wynaad area should be greater. Whatever capital Government invest in this area will pay dividend and Wynaad will become the granary of Malabar. (Introduction to Malabar Tribes, Chapter VII.)

79. Cattle diseases appear to be extremely common in Wynaad; the Veterinary department should pay some special attention to this area. (Chapter VII.)

80. The Kurumbars of Begur may be settled on forest lands. (Kurumbars under " The Tribes of Nilgiris ".)

81. The fire-ordeal, said to be practised by Koragas, should be stopped. (Koragas, Chapter VIII.)

(CHAPTER IV—CRIMINAL TRIBES)

82. The Reclamation Scheme for the Yenadis is described in detail by Mr. V. Subbarayan who was long in charge of the work. The schemes are now languishing, but to revivify them, (1) the lands assigned to the Yenadis must be acquired by Government; (2) spinning and weaving should be revived; (3) the Forest department should allot coupes to Yenadis through the Nayaks or the Reclamation Officer; and (4) the proposals for wells, schools, etc., made in the past years, but turned down, should be re-examined. (Yenadis, Chapter XI.)

83. The Chittoor Yenadi Scheme may be extended to Chingleput, North Arcot, South Arcot and the Adavi Yenadis in Guntur and Nellore. (Yenadis, Chapter XI.)

84. The Koravas (Erukalas, Korachas) have improved very much, but still require help with bulls, agricultural implements, seed and liberal assignment of land. In the case of the Korachas who have lost their lands during their stay in the settlements they should have their lands restored. (Yenadis, Chapter XI.)

85. The Lambadis have great aptitude for cattle-rearing and cattle-breeding. They should be given greater encouragement in this respect, particularly by being granted grazing concessions. They should be helped to add dairy-farming to cattle breeding. (Lambadis, Chapter XI.)

86. Lambadi children should be taught in the elementary classes in their own language, for which arrangements should be made by the Government. The script for the Lambadi language may be the Telugu script. (Lambadis, Chapter X.)

87. Special prohibition propaganda should be made among the Lambadis as they are much addicted to arrack. (Lambadis, Chapter XI.)

88. The Kallar Panchayats, instead of being merely agencies for controlling crime, should be put in charge of land reclamation work. Cattle-breeding, it is thought, would find favour with the Kallars. The regeneration of waste lands into pastures in the Kallar land should be considered if cattle breeding is to be taken up. Effective and real reclamation of the Kallars and Maravars will be possible only by bringing much greater extent of land in Madura, Ramnad, etc., under cultivation.

PART II

DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT

CHAPTER VI

AGENCY TRIBES

KOYAS

Habitat

The Godávari Valley, *from where the Indravati joins it to the* apex of the delay, is the Koya land, an area approximately of 3,676 *square miles. It lies within 80° 15' to 82° East Longitude and* 17° 15' to 18° 45' North Latitude. The Polavaram taluk on the west bank of the river and the Chodavaram, Yellavaram, Bhadrachalam and Nugur taluks on the opposite bank of the river form the part of Koya land within this Province. The Koyas and their compatriots belonging to some other castes and tribes extend also into the Nizam's Dominions as far south as Khammapet on the right of the Godavari and to left of the river into Bastar State beyond Nugur and into the Malkanagiri taluk of Orissa.

Rainfall in this land is about 50 inches in the lowlands. It must be more on the hills. The rains are for three months only from the 15th June. There is no more rain afterwards. Dry cultivation is therefore not possible. Wet cultivation alone may be done and will greatly improve if water sources (the vagus) are properly tapped.

The number of villages in the area is given below :—

Bhadrachalam taluk	333	(including 263 hill villages).
Nugur taluk	159	(including 99 hill villages).
Chodavaram taluk	240	(including 140 hill villages).
Yellavaram taluk	318	(including 158 hill villages).

In Polavaram taluk, a large number of plains villages are included. Bhadrachalam is deficit in its quota of rice. Nugur is almost self-sufficient in its food requirements. Chodavaram and Yellavaram are deficit taluks.

Population

The Koyas number 95,633 * and are distributed in the Province as under :—

East Godavari Agency	90,959†
East Godavari Plains	2,204
West Godavari Plains	1,717
Vizagapatam Agency	320
Vizagapatam Plains	394
Guntur district	39
Total ..	95,633

* Unless otherwise indicated, the population figures are of the 1941 Census.
† Includes Polavaram Agency taluk also.

Talukwar figures or information regarding the areas in which they are mostly concentrated are not available. It can only be said that the greatest number of them—90,959—inhabit the Bhadrachalam, Nugur, Chodavaram and Yellavaram taluks of East Godavari Agency and the Polavaram taluk of the West Godavari Agency.

Tradition

It has been said that " Koya tradition " points to their origin in Bastar State and such migration as takes place is usually directed thither. This does not mean much, for Bastar adjoins the Nugur and Bhadrachalam taluks of Madras. The Koyas exist, as mentioned already, in the adjoining Malkangiri of Orissa and in the Nizam's areas on the right bank of the Godavari. The Godavari and Sabari valleys make the Koya land as a whole. It is not a question of migration from one country to another, but it is a movement within their own land. The noteworthy point is that the Koyas suffer from the misfortune of having their lands divided up among five separate and differing administrations, and more, if their kinsmen, the Gonds, are also taken into account. An idea of the sufferings through which the Koyas had to pass can be obtained by a peep into the history of Bhadrachalam and its neighbourhood in the first half of the nineteenth century. Until the Bhadrachalam taluk was handed over by the Nizam in 1860, the local zamindar maintained a troop of Rohillas. The Rohillas received no pay but lived by looting the Koya country. The taluk was divided into ten Samutus—each theoretically comprising 25 Koya villages. Each village had to supply for a month, without pay or batta, a hundred Koyas to carry burdens and a hundred Madigas to act as horse-keepers. The whole land was at the mercy of the undisciplined Rohillas.

" All was grist ", writes Mr. Cain, " that came to their mill—even the clothes of the poor Koi women who were frequently stripped and then regarded as objects of ridicule. They could never lie down to rest at night without feeling that before morning their slumbers might be rudely disturbed, their houses burned, and their property carried off. As a rule, they hid their grains in caves and holes in large trees. The last great plundering was in 1859 near Parnasala."

All along the river banks from Bhadrachalam to Sirovancha in the Central Provinces non-Koyas live—Oda, Besta, Kapu, Reddi, Chakala, Kammara, Madiga. All these are plainsmen who may be called colonists. Perlike (a high caste Kapu and money-lender), Sharabu (carpenter) and Sale (weaver) from the plains and Netakani Koyas who are also weavers live mostly away from the river bank; only a few live in the neighbourhood of the new colonists from the plains. These new colonists are Razus, Kammas and Brahmins from Guntur and Godavari plains who have built up substantial farms in the Nugur taluk having obtained lands on darkhast. The colonies benefit the Koya; firstly, they provide employment throughout the year, their ploughs are hired by the colonists; the

Koya has been taught the use of the improved ploughs. The new colonists have settled at Tegada near Cherla and at Vajeti Nagavaram, north of Venkatapuram in the Nugur taluk. At Tegada, two Kamma gentlemen, B. Sc.s in Agriculture, one of Calcutta and the other of Aberdeen, have set up a prosperous farm called the " Abhyudaya Farm ". There are Koya villages all round. In addition to training in agriculture, the Koyas get benefited by a store, easy credit, help in their own cultivation and also medicines from a free dispensary run by Sri Nandesvarudu, B.SC., at Vajeti Nagavaram. This hundred-acre farm is prospering. It was commenced in 1923 by ten families of Razus from Amalapuram and Cocanada. Two years later, a Vaishnava family joined them. They all obtained the lands on darkhast. Those were days of scarcity in the agencies. There were only eight Koya huts in the place at that time. The Koyas had been reduced to wearing garments of leaves. Now the village has grown to two hundred houses, and fifty of these are Koyas. The rest are Gollas, Odas, etc. All around are Koya villages and many of these are prosperous now. The following observation of Sri R. A. Gopalaswami, I.C.S., who was the Special Assistant Agent here in 1923 and 1934, is noteworthy: " If the Koya of Nugur is now superior to the Koya of Bhadrachalam and has emerged from the primitive type of conception that the axe is the only implement of agriculture, it is because a kind Providence has confined him to a narrow strip of fertile plain between the plateau and the river in close contact with a large body of more civilized cultivators from whose neighbourhood he could not run away."

Social Organization

The Koya society is controlled by an extremely democratic organization, the " Kula Panchayat ". The village is a unit of administration and over it is a " Pinna Pedda ". This office is hereditary but a democratic principle is applied to it. Where a Pinna Pedda dies, his heir is usually elected in an assembly of village elders, but if the heir is not fit due to minority or incapacity, the villagers elect a regent to officiate for him. Above him is the " Kula Pedda " or " Patel " who is recognized by the Government; the office is hereditary—corresponding to our village munsifs. The Government also appoint talayaris but since they appoint only a small number, one for seven or eight villages, each village appoints and pays for its own *vetti*.

A group of some ten or twelve villages forms a Samutu in the Koya country. Over the Samutu presides the " Samut Dora " or " Kula Dora " or " Pedda Kapu ", but he is only a chairman of the Council and has to be guided by the opinion of his colleagues. The Samutu is appealed to against the Pinna Pedda or the Patel, who is also liable to " Tappu " as any ordinary citizen. The introduction of a Government-paid hereditary Patel appears to have created a confusion of functions but the democratic will of the Koya is

strong enough to bend the Patel too to be a mere president over debates. It is not clear how the village elders are represented in the Samutu.

In Kula Panchayats, the fines are levied in three equal parts as Kula Tappu, Guru Tappu and Raja Tappu or the fines payable to the community, to the religious head and to the State, each being Rs. 6, totalling Rs. 18. There used to be a "guru" who was a Jangam. The Reddis are Saivas. There is no more any Raja. Therefore, all the Rs. 18 are appropriated by the commune only. It is used for tobacco and drink. The money is divided among Kula Peddas. Since the elders of several villages assemble, the division is immediate. There is a Kula Pedda above all Peddas. Pedda means an elder.

All the disputes in the village are settled by the Kula Pedda whose decision is normally final. The fine is usually utilized by the whole community for drinking. The fine may sometimes be heavy, amounting to Rs. 100 in cases in which violations of social restrictions are involved. Social boycott is the sanction of the society against a person who refuses to pay the fine imposed. It is reported that the panchayat conducts its enquiries in an orderly and dignified manner. To quote Sri Durba Venkatapayya: "I have witnessed several enquiries by these Panchayats myself and have got great regard for the manner in which questions are logically put and answered and the enquiry done in a judicial manner and have no hesitation to say that the panchayat system, as it now exists among the tribesmen, is a glorious survival of the ancient Hindu panchayats. It would be a very great blunder if this panchayat system is in any way disturbed except in the matter of the utilization of the fines which are collected. It has got a healthy tone for discipline over the entire community. They are a very tenacious people. Though they appear very meek, they are very sensitive of any outside interference with their rights or regulations. All the surrounding Koya villages will join in one voice at the whistle of the Pedda Kapu and will put up a fight and will not tolerate any remark against their womenfolk or seizure of their grains or occupation of their lands. So they have needed so far no courts of law to assert and enjoy their rights".

Some witnesses* are of the opinion that the Pedda Kapu is a tyrant who levies heavy fines, appropriates most of these amounts for himself and is, on the whole, an undesirable weight on the Koyas. Certain other witnesses from among the tribesmen themselves say that the caste heads are entitled to and take only a sum of Rs. 5 out of every fine levied, whatever the amount of fine may be, and the rest is spent on the whole community for drinks. But the Special Assistant Agent, Kovvur, while condemning the Pedda Kapus and suggesting the curtailment of their authority recom-

* Messrs. P. B. Rangachari, Pleader, Polavaram, G. Sivaram, District Medical Officer, Ellore, and G. Bheemasankaram, Special Assistant Agent, Kovvur.

mends the association of the Pedda Kapus with a band of honorary welfare workers who would visit the interior villages to preach the benefits of temperance. Propaganda with the help of Pedda Kapus, he considers, will be beneficial.

Punishment

One form of punishment for a person who refuses payment of fine is to make him stand in a place with a heavy stone upon his head for a few hours. Another punishment for such non-payment is the hanging of a man by his hands from a tree and placing thorns on the ground right under him until he pays the fine. Social boycott is another sanction.

Ordeal

A severe ordeal is putting the accused person to the test of dipping his or her hand in boiling oil or water. It is believed, he will not be harmed if he is innocent; otherwise it does. We have no information how frequently this ordeal is resorted to. If, on further enquiry, it is found that this kind of ordeal is, in any way, generally prevalent, steps should be taken to put a stop to it.

It is worth quoting here the following from Mr. E. Thurston's "Castes and Tribes of Southern India":—

"If there are very suspicious circumstances that ill-will has brought about the death, the friends of the deceased assemble, place the corpse on a cot and make straight for the suspected enemy. If he or she is unfortunate enough to be at home, a trial takes place. A pot is partly filled with water, on the top of which ghee (clarified butter) and milk are poured, and then it is placed on the fire. As soon as it begins to boil, stones are thrown in, and the accused is summoned to take them out. If this is done without any apparent injury to the unfortunate victim, a verdict of not guilty is returned; but, if there are signs of the hand being at all scalded or burnt, the unhappy wight has to eat a bone of the deceased, which is removed and pounded, and mixed with boiled rice and milk. In days gone-by, the sentence was death."

Subdivisions

We hear of the "real Koya", the Kammara Koya, Linga Koya, Are Koya, Musara Koya, Kaka Koya and Matwa or Matta Koya. The names are, in most cases, after the occupation of the community, e.g., Gampa—basket and tatti making; Neta Kani—weaving; Kammara—blacksmithy; Musara—worker in brass, etc. "Koya" connotes a hill dweller and in a hill population there should have existed the components of a number of occupational social groups such as the tillers, artisans, the weaver and even the beggar.

The Koyas are divided into the following sub-sects:—

(1) Gutta or Kutta Koya called also Racha Koya.

(2) Gommu Koya or Dora Chattam.

(3) Kammara Koya—Blacksmith or carpenter.
(4) Musara Koya—Brass worker.
(5) Gampa Koya—Basket maker.
(6) Oddi Koya—Priest.
(7) Pattidi Koya—Beggar.

The above are hillmen and speak Koya with dialectal differences. These divisions are being forgotten now.

(8) Doli Koya—Malas.
(9) Kaka Koya—Kapu.
(10) Matwa Koya—Golla.

The above three divisions are plainsmen admitted into the Koya community and speak Koya.

(11) Linga Koya—Not real Koya; speaks Telugu and is a Saiva.

The Neta, Kani, Sale, Oda, Mala, etc., have escaped from being called Koyas because they are very recent settlers.

Gutta Koyas are the ones who live on the hills. 'Gommu' is applied to the Koyas living on the river bank. The riverside villages are called Gommu villages, e.g., Gommu Lakshmipuram (G.L. Puram).

The Gutta and Gommu Koyas are the real Koyas or the old ruling class. They are subdivided into five clans:—

(1) Perumboyadu; (2) Modogutta; (3) Peregatta; (4) Matamuppayo and (5) Vidogatta.

The lowland or Gommu Koyas have forgotten one of the five and count only the following four:—

(1) Peredugatta; (2) Mandegatta; (3) Perumboyina and (4) Wikaloru.

Gatta is a corruption of gotra. These are exogamous groups which are subdivided again into many families. These gotra names require further elucidation, but we may pass over it in this report.

Language

The Koya language is a dialect of Telugu spoken with the characteristic hill accent. One can notice in it some typical Kannada forms in addition to the Tamil and Telugu ones. There are dialectal differences between the speeches of different areas. The more northern folk appear to retain the more ancient speech which perhaps is close to 'Kui', the language of the Khonds in Orissa. The Koyas and their languages are both said to be closely allied to the Gonds and Gondi language of Central Provinces. The connexion of the Koya with the Gond is reflected in the fact that, when a non-Koya wants to abuse a Koya, he calls him 'Gondia'. This would imply that the Koya is superior to the Gond though both are of the same tribe. The Gond is the Koya's neighbour on the north in the Chanda district of the Central Provinces. The Linga Koyas and others do not speak any kind of Koya, they do not even understand it, they say; they speak a low type of modern Telugu only.

Customs and Habits

Mrs. Caine, a Missionary lady, had devised a script for the Koya language and published books in Koya for the Koyas. The Koyas are, on the whole, a healthy people. According to the best informed witnesses, "the Koyas are honest, truthful, law-abiding, chaste, patient and are endowed with a great degree of fortitude and sense of gratitude." The bad element of criminality is absent in them.

Though, for want of sufficient quantity of fresh water, the Koyas do not bathe daily, they keep their houses and even their pig-sties remarkably clean.

They do not live in the villages in which other castes reside. They prefer a secluded life, away even from the Hindus.

For shaving, they use their toddy-tapping knife (*aruval*) instead of razors.

The Koyas are all Hindus. The women put caste mark on their foreheads as Hindu women do. Reference has been made to the beef-eating of the Koyas which is often held out as a pointer to non-Hindu origin. But, a thorough study of all these will only seem to emphasize the fact that the Koyas of all classes and castes are Hindus in origin and up-bringing. Beef-eating is, in certain areas, restricted to death and annual ceremonies. In the opinion of Sri Narahari, B.SC. (Aberdeen), and new colonists like him from Guntur and Godavari districts, the Koyas are really not such great meat-eaters as is often alleged by superficial observers. It is only once in a way he takes meat at a marriage or funeral ceremony, and when he eats he does not scruple to eat beef and even carrion. "It is wrong", they said, "to say that Koyas eat tigers and pythons."

The gods and goddesses worshipped by them are the Sun, Muthial Amma, Mahalakshmi Amma and Korrajulu and the materials for worship are turmeric and saffron. They celebrate two festivals called Bhumi Pandaga and Kothal Pandaga. All produce and new things which they get between the months of June and August will not be touched until they perform the Kothal Pandaga in August.

They do not eat at the hands of Harijans or Muhammadans.

It is worth mentioning here that in spite of very zealous efforts by Mrs. Caine, a Missionary lady, to convert the Koyas to Christianity they remained unyielding owing to their natural conservatism.

Marriage

All forms of marriage, including elopement, recognized by the ancient Hindus, obtain among them. Marriage rites are done on Hindu lines. The 'dowry' system is not in vogue, but 'Oli'

(bride money) amounting to Rs. 4 or Rs. 5 is paid by the bridegroom's party. Elopements are recognized after a successful staying together for three days. No marriage is allowed to take place if the girl does not consent to it. Divorce is allowed. Abduction and rape are punished. If the victim is willing, the marriage is recognized. Generally, the girl once ravished will marry the villain, as no one else will marry her.

The Koyas are very affectionate towards their women and children. The woman, as a rule, remains faithful to her husband to whom she is attached for the time being.

There are also many cases of widows observing strict widowhood.

'Tali'—Mangala Sutram—is tied even when a widow is re-married. Elopement is recognized as marriage only in the case of unmarried people. But if the woman is the wife of somebody else, a fine is imposed on them. At the time of marriage, the bride and the groom are made to make a solemn promise of faithful married life.

Economics

The Koyas live in thatched houses which are built in a circular or rectangular fashion. Their chief occupation is agriculture and agricultural and forest labour. They do extensive *podu* and a bit of wet cultivation. Even the *podu* land, the Koya ploughs, unlike the Savara who needs only the 'Kanka' to facilitate the easy tilling of the surface soil. He does not cultivate *podu* more than for his requirements. He does not do it as a business proposition, i.e., to raise paddy or cholam for sale. His case is different from that of the Jatapu and Savara, who indulge in *podu* to pay their creditors. *Podu* is prohibited in Nugur. The acreage under *podu* in the Koya land is about 4,000 acres and remains the same more or less year after year.

Another avocation for the Koya is gathering forest produce. Some do basket-making and weaving of mats with bamboo and 'thunga.'

Some of the Koyas own a considerable number of cattle, but many of them have no bulls for cultivation and for carts. They hire them and, curiously enough, the risks are borne by the owner, but the hire charge is 120 seers of grain per season.

Cattle are badly bred and poorly fed. Pasture is available for six months only in the rainy season. The forest demarcations are too close to the villages and, as a result, ample grazing ground is *not* available. They require to be supplied with good stud bulls by the State. It is learnt on enquiry that the Ongole breed thrives well here and that the Sindhies have not yet been tried.

They experience great difficulty for drinking water. Apart from this, for crops they have no irrigation facilities like canal systems or wells.

FIG. 1.—KOYA GIRLS OF MORUMUR WHO MOSTLY CONTRIBUTED SONGS DURING THE DANCE. (NOTE JEWELLERY OF THE GIRL AT THE RIGHT END.)

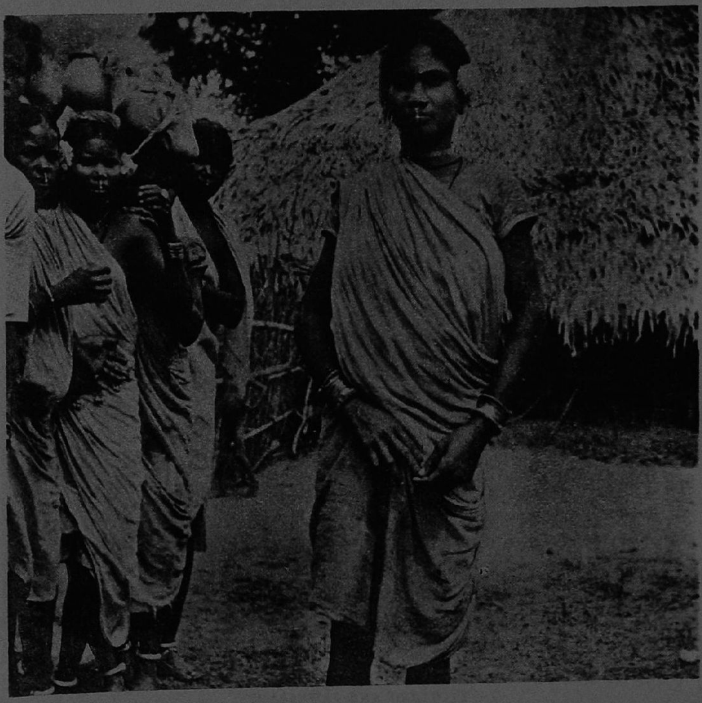

FIG. 2.—TYPICAL KOYA GIRL WITH FLOWERS IN HER EARS

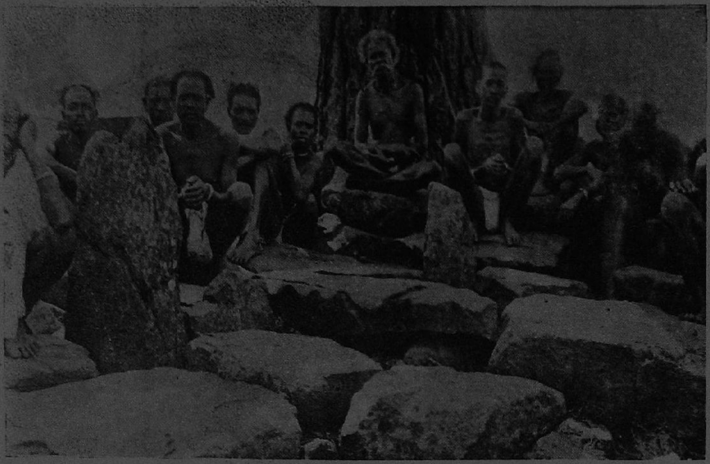

FIG. 1.—MEETING OF THE GADABA VILLAGE COUNCIL ON THE STONE SEATS—*sodor*—WITH THE HEADMAN PRESIDING

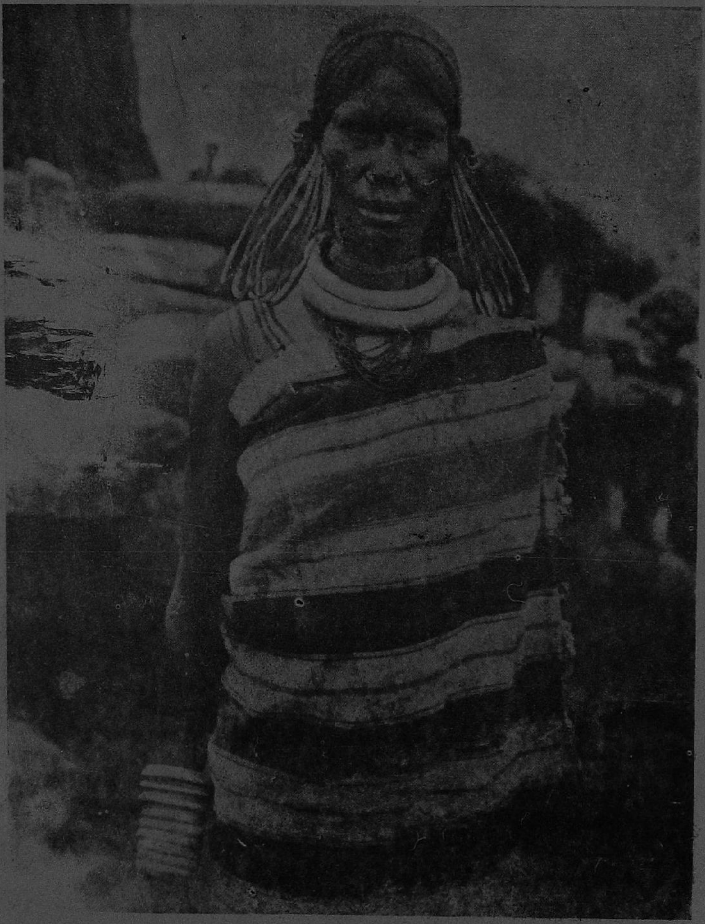

FIG. 2.—[illegible]ADABA WOMAN OF JEYPORE SHOWING CHARACTERISTIC CLOTHING AND JEWELLERY

The Koyas are so poor that they cannot afford to wear more than a 'kowpeena' and a cloth for the head. The most refined dress they could think of is a 20-count cloth.

According to Mr. G. Sivaram, District Medical Officer, Ellore, many Koyas, though healthy, are stunted in growth and have crumpled feet due to malnutrition. Generally, they take gruel and the roots and barks of some trees. A gruel is prepared out of tamarind seed powder and consumed by these people, which, he said, was very injurious to health. Toddy also forms part of their food.

They eat wild lizards, flesh of rabbits, deer, wild boar and buffalo meat. During obsequies they kill cows also, but preference is given to old animals. Generally meat is taken by them only during ceremonies. As a rule, on all occasions of death, a buffalo is killed and feasted upon. They never eat the flesh of birds. Some families do not even touch goats. Honey comb is used as a side dish along with drink.

The Koyas waste most of their wealth on unnecessary festivals —the result of the superstitious belief that a 'pandaga' should be celebrated before the harvest of every crop lest the fury of the God would endanger their life and fail the crops. This has already been referred to under 'Customs and Habits.'

The Koyas are ignorant and find themselves unequal to the forest contractor, sowcar, merchant and other employers or creditors doing business in the tribal region. Whilst their inefficiency is admitted, and a margin has to be left to the creditor to make up the loss on this account, there seems to be a good ground to hold that given such an opportunity the businessmen will exploit the Koyas beyond the limits of decency. The forest contractor pays fairly well but the Koyas are lazy. Much is said about the Koya honesty and truthfulness; but, at times, the Koya is also dishonest, as for example, when he takes an advance from a contractor he spends away the advance and goes to earn his day's wages elsewhere. Koya cartmen are notorious for this kind of dishonesty.

Drink

The Koyas are a hard drinking lot. The common beverages are the juice of the palmyra and arrack distilled from ippa flowers. In former days the Koyas were distilling their own arrack when home breweries for private consumption were tolerated by the State. The opinion of almost all persons interested in Koya welfare is that arrack should be prohibited and that total prohibition should be the starting point of any amelioration proposed to be done. Regarding ippa flowers, one view is that they can be used as food for the sugar in them; regarding toddy it is widely believed that it can be considered as food for the vitamin-B in it. The real point is that the Koyas suffer from want of food. It is universally stated that for four months in the year the Koyas live on toddy and a tuberous root which they dig up in the forests.

This is from January or February to May or June in the year. According to Sri Durba Venkatappayya, one of the witnesses, the reason for their being left without any food except toddy for four months is not that they get less from the land but that they are so truthful to their word that they give up to the last grain to the creditors. According to the evidence given by Mr. G. Bhimasankaram, Special Assistant Agent, Kovvur, and the statements of the Koya tribesmen, they drink only sweet toddy, but not fermented, and are seldom found drunk. They can work even after drinking toddy. Even women and children of five years drink toddy. The fact that the Government have given them free-tapping concession at the rate of two trees per adult and one tree per child for domestic consumption may be adduced as a reason for the increase in the consumption of liquor. Of course, the Government have made the concession with good intention. But that concession, with the connivance of nature, which has provided large numbers of palmyra and other tappable trees in this area has enabled the Koyas to tap many more trees than are allowed to them. The detection of the offence is naturally very difficult.

KONDA REDDI or HILL REDDI

Habitat

The Konda Reddis are found chiefly in Kondamodalu, Akur (at a distance of 24 miles west of Chodavaram), Kondada, Bodulu and Chavala Muttahs in the East Godavari Agency. In the above Muttahs, Koyas and Kammaries also live alongside of the Hill Reddis. In the Peddakonda and Sukkumamidi areas Reddis alone live on the hill slopes. They are found also in the adjoining districts in the Nizam's Dominions.

Population

The Census Reports of 1921, 1931 or 1941 do not contain the population figures of the Reddis. This community does not find a place under the 'Selected Tribes' for which, in the Census Reports, district and areawar figures are furnished.

Tradition

A peep into history shows that the Reddis were, in days gone by, a ruling class in the Andhra country. The fact that they continued to battle for power even from their hill resorts is sufficient proof of their valour. But, worsted time and again, they got reconciled to the hills and valleys, shorn of all glory, but yet maintaining in purity many of the noble qualities of the Reddis.

Language

The Reddis speak a very high class grammatical Telugu with a peculiar accent. For example, for what the ordinary Telugu man says " Emi endhuku ra ledhu ", the Reddis say, " Ela ranai

thiri." It is the Telugu of Sri Natha's days which would be pedantic in ordinary speech to-day.

Social Organization

In general outline the social organization of the Reddis is similar to that of the Koyas. They have an actively functioning Kula Panchayat.

The Gotras among the Reddis are informing—Ganga Gotram and Pusupuleti Gotram are met with in the plains, but Allada Gotram is reminiscent of Allada Reddy, the conqueror of Kataka and the father of the great Virabhadra Reddi, the last of the Reddi Kings of Rajahmundry.

Subdivisions

The Reddis are divided into three clans, viz., Pandava Reddis, Raja Reddis and Surya Vamsa Reddis.

Customs and Habits

The highest class among the Reddis usually live on hill tops. Each clan has its own cluster of houses. They come down from the hill only for salt and cloth. In spite of an outlandish air, the Reddis have the habits of caste Hindus; as a rule, they do not eat beef, but eat pork.

When a girl attains age, during the first menses, she is put up in a separate small hut apart from the parental house. After the bath, the hut is burnt down.

Religion and Worship

They are all Hindu Saivites. They worship the Pandavas, the spirits of the hills whom they call the sons of 'Racha', Muthaiduvulu and the village deities—Muthyalamma, her brother Poturazu, Saralamma and Unnamalamma. The last is a Tamil name of Parvati (பார்வதி—உண்ணாமலையம்மாள்). The shrine of Saralamma, eight miles east of Rekapalle, is a place of pilgrimage; Papikonda (Bison Hill) is also another place where an important festival to the Pandavas is held once in seven or eight years; the killing of a fatted pig is the chief event at the festival. Doddiganga is a deity worshipped when cattle are driven into forests for grazing. Desaganga or Paraganga is propitiated for cholera or smallpox. Like the Koyas, the Reddis too celebrate harvest festivals.

Marriage

The forms of marriage and marriage customs among the Reddis are similar to those obtaining ordinarily in the Telugu community. Marriages are always post-puberty, but parents of the bride and the bridegroom may arrange engagements even before puberty.

As a rule, widow re-marriage is not allowed, but there is no objection to anyone having a widow as a keep. When a widow or a seduced woman is kept by a man, she functions as his wife for all purposes and her children are recognized as legitimate, but no

religious ceremonies are performed for this inferior type of 'cohabitation.' If the man has already a married wife, the "keep" cannot come into the house without the express consent of his legal wife.

In cases of seduction, the Kula Panchayat levies a fine on the seducer, a portion of which is paid to the injured husband of the woman as compensation for the expenses incurred by him for the marriage.

If a proper marriage after negotiation is performed, a Brahmin priest officiates and a 'Tali' is tied. During marriages and festivals they indulge freely in drinking toddy and arrack. Mostly they take sago toddy. The dances are performed on the Koya model—the men wearing the Bison horn head-gear, peacock feathers and long robes.

Crime

The Reddi generally comes down to plains as a witness in murder cases. Murders usually relate to matters sexual; sometimes, persons suspected of witchcraft are murdered. The peculiarity is that the Reddi readily confesses his guilt in the court.

Economics

The Hill Reddis are purely agriculturists; they do extensive 'Podu' cultivation. A good number of them own land and cattle. Unlike the Savaras, they use the plough for Podu cultivation. Wet cultivation is rare. They pay tax to Government at the rate of Rs. 6 to Rs. 7 per acre.

Those Reddi women who can afford wear a lengthy saree while the poorer wear a shorter one skirting round the waist and another small piece to cover the breast. The men invariably wear a "kowpeena" and a turban. Some well-to-do Reddis wear a cloth round their waists when they come down to the plains.

Their food consists of millets and pork. They eat twice a day. The Reddis are, of course, addicted to drink, but they indulge freely in it only during festive occasions. But they do not get much intoxicated.

Muttahs

The Muttah system is in vogue also in the areas in which the Reddis live. The office of the Muttahdar is hereditary. Every Muttahdar is given Rs. 40 per village as peshcash and a local cess calculated at 1½ annas in the rupee by the people of every village. He is also given a 'mamool' of one fowl and one 'Thavva' of ghee at the time the tenants pay the peshcash. He gets free labour —vetti—also from a number of villages and in return he gives them some food on the days they work for him.

To quote an instance, M. Raja Reddi of Masumilli is a Muttahdar aged 40 years. He gets Rs. 500 as peshcash in addition to local cess calculated at 1½ annas in the rupee plus some miscellaneous fees, all of which amount to Rs. 600 per year. In addition

he is paid by the Government Rs. 500 per annum towards the forest rights which his forefathers had relinquished some 60 or 70 years ago. Out of the total annual income of Rs. 1,100 he pays the Government a peshcash of Rs. 100 only a year.

Panchayats

The Reddis do not believe in the law courts of to-day, but prefer a panchayat. According to them, a taluk panchayat as an appellate body will ensure correct behaviour by the village or Muttah panchayat. The Panchayat, they say, must be elected on adult franchise, Literary qualification is redundant in the Reddi's opinion. In a Muttah or Taluk Panchayat, they want communal representation. By this they do not mean the sort we have in the plains. The tribes live more or less in their own caste communes. It is interesting and useful that these democratic institutions hold their ground still on these hills whilst the more cultured Hindu of the plains has allowed his village panchayats to perish and is incapable of reviving the ancient corporate sense.

GADABAS

Habitat

The Gadabas are a distinctive tribe, unlike the Khond, Kui, the Bagata, or the Telugus and unlike any of the others who are in the transitional stages of being 'Teluguised' or 'Oriyaised.' They are distributed along the lower slopes below the plateau and the adjoining plains, in Golgonda, Chodavaram, Srungavarapukota and Salur taluks and Andra Estate. Their real homes are Jeypore, Malkangiri, Koraput and Pottangi taluks. But a good number of them have skipped the plateau where the Bagatas ruled and now occupy these lower regions.

The name Gadaba is sometime connected with the river 'Godabari', but the Gadabas have never been anywhere near that river. It may be as proper to trace it to 'Kadava' in Tamil, because of their prominent ear-rings, 'Kadu' in Tamil meaning 'ear.' It may be more proper to derive it from the Sanskrit 'Gatvara' which, in Oriya, will be 'Gatbara', and may become 'Gadabara' or 'Gadaba.' 'Gatvara' means locomotive and the caste profession of Gadabas is the bearing of palanquins, and palanquin bearers may deserve the adjective 'Gatvara.' Another derivation may be from the Sanskrit 'Kadvada' which means 'speaking indistinctly.' There is no more indistinct speech than that of the Gadaba; their words are rarely heard. Kadvada also means vile or contemptible.

The Gadabas of Jeypore have always been different from the Gadabas of the Lower Agency. The former speak a patois of Oriya which is unintelligible to the latter. The Gadabas, as palanquin bearers, have a prejudice against the horse which they will not

touch—perhaps, they consider it their rival as a means of transport. They were once hunters too, but hunting has gradually lost its importance to the Gadabas.

Population

According to the 1941 Census, the Gadabas number 14,033 of which 11,190 are found in the Agency Areas of the Vizagapatam district and the remaining 2,843 live scattered in the plains area of the same district. They all belong to the Kapu and Kathara subdivisions who claim to be Bodos and Ollaros who migrated from the hills.

Subdivisions

They are in six subdivisions :—(1) Bodo or Gutobi, (2) Ollaro, (3) Parenga, (4) Kalloyi, (5) Kapu and (6) Kathiri or Kathara Bodo is also called ' Boda ' from ' Bodaluvade ', the fibre which is used in the Gadaba cloth.

The Gadabas of the slopes and plains have forgotten the sept names—Kora, Bhag, Nag, Kira (Parrot) and Gollari (Monkey). They, however, will not kill or injure certain animals, e.g., the cobra.

Language

The Gadaba language is said to belong to the Mundari group. It has no script. Mr. H. G. Turner, however, recorded the numerals in use with ' Kerang Kapus ' as follows :—

Moi	1	Turu	6
Umbar	2	Gu	7
Jugi	3	Tammar	8
O	4	Santing	9
Malloi	5	Goa	10

After 10, the numerals went on as Gommoi—11, Gombaro, etc., up to 19 only. The Gadabas have similar numbers to-day, but only up to 5, after which they resort to Oriya numerals. The Bonda Porajas, another tribe in Malkangiri taluk, have similar numerals which were recorded by Mr. Francis as ' Mui ', ' Bar ', ' Oo ', ' Moloi ', ' Thiri ', ' Goo ', ' Thamam ' and, so on, up to 19 only. Twenty is not known. The Gutob Gadabas, after 5, go on with ' Muithitti ' which means 1 plus a hand, equal to 6, and ' Marditti ' which means 2 plus a hand, equal to 7.

Habits and Customs

The customs and habits of the Gadabas including marriage customs are similar to those of the Bagatas. They eat beef like other hill tribes and likewise have escaped being treated as untouchables for that reason. The ' Ghorojavai ' system by which a man works for a stated period for his future father-in-law is practised by Gadabas.

They name their children after the week days on which they were born. In the plains they are nowadays taking to names like 'Ramudu', 'Lachigadu' and 'Arjanna.'

Religion and Worship

The Gadabas are all Hindus. They observe the 'Ittakaparva' festival. It is a hunting feast in March–April. The chief deities worshipped are Ganga Devi or Takurani, Iswara or Mouli, Bhairava and Jhankara. Jhankara is the God of land, rainfall and crops. The Puja is done in a sacred ground surrounded by a circle of stones. The place itself is called 'Jhankara.' Ganga, Iswara and Mouli get temples but, as a rule, no buildings. Only trees and stones indicate the deities. Iswara gets a she-buffalo in 'Chitrai', Ganga gets pigs, goats and pigeons.

The priest is called 'Kirasami.' In the hills, the headman is called 'Janni' or 'Nayako' and, in the plains 'Naidado.' This happy festival in which every thing makes for jollity is falling into desuetude like other good Hindu festivals.

The Gadabas cremate their males; women and children are buried. They erect stone slabs as memorials to the dead.

Economics

Their economic condition is very similar to that of other tribes in the Vizagapatam Agency.

The Gadaba women's dress deserves special mention. The dress is distinctive and characteristic. They themselves weave it on a most primitive loom. It is made of hand-spun jungle fibre called 'Boddanara' in Telugu, used for the warp with cotton thread as woof. The cloth is woven with stripes of red, blue and white. Even the dyeing is done by themselves. They use indigo for blue and the seeds of *Bixa Orellana* for red. The fibre used for the cloth is from (1) a shrub called 'Kerang' (*Calotropis gigantea*); (2) sillo luvada or ankudichettu (*Holarrhena antidysentrica*); (3) boda lavada or boddachettu (*Ficus glomerata*). Perhaps, from this name 'Kerang', Kapu Gadabas were returned in 1871 as 'Kerang Kapus.'

The one characteristic ornament of the Gadaba women is the enormous ear-ring made of brass wire which is large enough to lie on their shoulders.

The Gadabas practise both shifting cultivation with iron handle-holed hoes on the hill-fields and plough cultivation on permanent flat fields and irrigated rice terraces. Streams and rivulets are carefully utilized for the irrigation of these terraces. Hunting and fishing make a somewhat meagre contribution to the food-supply. The Gadaba villages are very compact and also the Gadabas are very much attached to the villages. They do not shift their villages unless compelled by the most dire necessity.

Social Organization

The Gadabas are a very democratic people. The village headmen have only nominal authority, the influence of a person in the community depending mainly on his ability and economic resources. The village council holds its meetings on the ' stone-seats ' (*sodor*), the headman having a special seat reserved for him. Since these stone-seats are associated with the departed ancestors the discussions and the decisions get some degree of religious sanction and validity.

" The principal units of Gadaba society are the village community, the phratry (*bonso*) and the clan (*kuda*), of which the last is exogamous; marriages within the village or *bonso* are tolerated, though by no means frequent. Every village consists of members of two or more phratries and these in turn of several clans. The phratries are named after animals such as tiger, snake and bear, and show indications of totemism, while the clans appear to have no connexion with animals or natural objects. Descent in all these units is patrilineal, but women enjoy a good social status.

" An essential feature of the Gadabas' social life is the institution of boys' and girls' dormitories and the organization of the unmarried of both sexes under a common leader, a young man described as *bise*. The latter is responsible for the arrangement of certain feasts and ceremonies, and commandeers and controls the gangs of boys and girls, which are sometimes hired by wealthy men for a day's work on the fields."

BAGATAS

Habitat

Unlike most other tribes, the Bagatas are not scattered in several districts; they are found only in the Vizagapatam district. The Bagata land comprises (1) the whole of Gudem taluk which includes the Gangarazu Madugole area called Hill Madugole; (2) the Golugonda Agency in the Narasapatam taluk; (3) the Viravalli Agency in the Chodavaram taluk; and (4) the Anantagiri Agency including the Araku Valley in the Srungavarapukota taluk. The total area of the land is about 2,160 square miles.

The land is a jungle of steep and broken hills containing some fair plateaus at a level of about 2,500 feet above sea level. Some of the heaviest jungles are seen on the plateau and on the slopes. On the Narasapatam side, the hilly region extends to Sanjeevikonda (2,145 feet) famous for its medicinal herbs. They also extend to below Paderu in the Viravalli area and to Anantagiri in the Srungavarapukota taluk. Near Gudem, on the plateau, one finds moist evergreen growth—tree ferns, maddi, gallnuts, etc. At Kondasantha, between Gudem and Madugole, splendid bamboos grow. There are many hill streams that can be used to the best advantage, but scant use is now made of them. The inhabitants indulge in *podu* or shifting cultivation—the favourite crop being

ragi. They prefer to live on the forest produce which includes abundant fruits—limes, oranges (loose jacket), guavas, mangoes, jack, tamarind and turmeric, long pepper, mustard, bee's wax, honey and horns. The land is sparsely populated, about 46 to a square mile. Tigers, fevers and rebellion are said to have reduced the number of the Bagatas. Still, they are a happy people.

The population of the Bagata land consists of many castes and tribes, but the Bagatas form the largest and most powerful community in the area.

Population and Distribution

The total population of the Bagatas is 19,536 *; 14,642 reside in the Agency area; the remaining 4,894 reside in the plains portions of the Vizagapatam district.

When compared to the total tribal population of the whole Bagata land—88,592—the Bagata forms one-sixth.

Tradition

The Bagatas were a soldier caste and appear to have been the devoted soldiery of the Kings of Golgonda, who, in appreciation of their loyalty, called them 'Bhaktas' and granted the lands on the plateau to them as 'Mokhasas.' The following may stand as a proof of this. The head of a village in this area was called a 'Padal'; over a number of 'Padals' was the 'Naik' or 'Razu' and over them there was the 'Dora' who is the modern 'Mokhasadar', a name of modern origin and from modern terminology given by Oriya conquerors and continued by the British.

Social Organization

There is no village panchayat. The Kula Pedda tries the offenders and fines the guilty. He functions beneficially to the community.

They are divided into exogamous septs or intiperlu about which details are not available.

Language and Literacy

They speak Telugu; more about their language is not known. The number of literates among them is negligible.

Customs and Habits

The Bagatas are addicted to drink, opium and also to gambling. They do not eat carrion, python, etc. Beef-eating is prohibited. According to the Tahsildar of Narasapatam, the Bagatas are not clean in their habits, but the few families which the Committee saw appeared quite clean. Their surroundings are not very sanitary.

* Mr. V. Subbarayan, I.P., in his notes, based on written and oral evidence believes that the total number of the Bagatas should be nearly 50,000. The discrepancy must have been due to some mistake at the time of the compilation of the Census Report (1941).

They consider the Valmikis and Kammaries untouchables and keep them at a distance.

They do not inflict any form of inhuman punishment on anti-social elements. No criminal propensities are noticed among the Bagatas.

Religion and Worship

The Bagatas are Hindus. Unlike the Koyas who desire a secluded life even from the Hindus, the Bagatas mix with them freely. They are a class of fishermen who are said to be very expert at catching fish with a long spear. According to an account about them in the Madras Census Report, 1901, it appears that " on the Dasara Day they worship the fishing baskets and also a kind of trident." (Trisula, a Saivite symbol.)

The Bagatas are both Vaishnavites and Saivites and the former were getting themselves branded on the arm by their Vaishnava Guru who lived in the Godavari district.

The Bagatas in the hills celebrate the Itiga Ponduga festival.

The Vaishnavites burn their dead and the Saivites bury them in the customary sitting posture. Satanis and Jangams officiate for the former and latter, respectively.

Marriage

Girls are married either before or after puberty; Menarikam—the social custom compelling a man to marry his maternal uncle's daughter—obtains as a general rule. Marriages are performed in the presence of the Kula Pedda; Purohits are employed. As a substitute for ' Oli ' (bride's money), the girl is presented with jewellery. It is noted, in the Census Report of 1901, that, at a wedding, the bridegroom is struck by his brother-in-law, who is then presented with a pair of new clothes. Polygamy exists. Divorce is allowed. Widow re-marriages are allowed according to tribal law, but if a widow marries a man of her caste, the ' Kula Pedda ' legalizes the marriage after a trial and the imposition of a fine. The fine thus paid is called ' Kula Tappu.'

Economics

The Bagatas, being soldiers, appear to have always looked with disdain on agriculture and employed the Konda Kapus as their agrestic slaves. Seventy-five per cent of them are cultivators and the rest live by coolie work and collection and sale of minor forest produce. Work on daily wages is usually available for a period varying from 100 to 200 days in the year according to the locality in which they live. The average income per day in the year calculated on the daily wages they get approximates to two annas. As the above income is only seasonal they resort to supplemental sources—gathering and selling of forest produce such as honey, soapnut, myrobalam, tamarind, *adda* leaves, etc.

In the Lower Agency some do basket-making and mat-weaving; the products are marketed in the local shandies.

The number of persons owning cattle in the Upper and Lower Gudem Agencies is greater than that in the Golgonda Agency, but the cattle are of a very poor breed.

They do *podu* to a considerable extent. Only a few in the Lower Agency use the plough, others using the pick-axes to turn the soil.

A fair proportion of money lenders are Valmikis to whom the Bagatas and the Gadabas are habitually indebted.

KONDA KAPUS

Habitat

The Konda Kapus, otherwise known as Konda Doras, inhabit largely the hill slopes and the low lands adjoining them in the Agency portions of the Vizagapatam district. They are the agrestic slaves of the Bagatas.

Population

The Konda Kapu has not been included in the Census Reports of 1941, 1931 or 1921. But, as far as could be ascertained from experienced officers in the Agency, they are a large tribe numbering some thousands. Not even an estimate of their number, however, is available. As far as the Gangarazu Madugole Muttah is concerned, their figure is about a thousand.

Their social organization is more or less like that of the Bagatas.

Subdivision

The Konda Kapus are divided into two sections, namely, Pedda Kondalu and Chinna Kondalu. While the former live on the hills retaining their semi-independent position and having their customs unmodified, the latter live in the lowlands and have come under Telugu domination and influence.

Marriage customs among the various tribes, especially in the Vizagapatam Agency do not generally vary. The characteristic difference between the two Kondalus is that the Pedda Kondalu adopts the custom of 'Eduru menarikam' (marrying father's sister's daughter) while the Chinna Kondalu follows the usual 'Telugu menarikam' (marrying mother's brother's daughter). However, the two inter-marry and inter-dine.

Language

The Konda Kapus speak Telugu. Nothing regarding their original tongue is now known. But according to Mr. Stuart, it is seen that a large number of the Konda Kapus gave their caste name as the name of their language during the 1891 census. He adds that he received a vocabulary said to be of these people, which if correct, was probably a dialect of Khond.

Customs and Habits.

The Kondalus have no scruples against beef-eating. They are all Hindus, but are not untouchables.

The Chinna Kondalus take the titles "Anna" or "Ayya" when they are cultivators under Bagata landlords. But they call themselves Doras when, under freer circumstances, they can do so. The Pedda Kondalus have no titles. They call themselves Kapus only. The Chinna Kondalus have taken to Telugu names like Linganna, Gangamma, whilst the Pedda Kondalus still name themselves after the week days on which they were born, as 'Bhudra', 'Sukra', etc.

KHONDS

The Khonds reside in Gangarazu Madugole, Ginnelakota, Kilagada, Rudhakota, Gomili, Kanjari, Minumaluru, Bakuru, Kodapalli, Sukuru, Uppa, Burja and Gattumu Muttahs in the northern half of Gudem taluk. They have apparently spread from across the Orissa borders.

According to 1941 census, there were 39,648 Khonds in the Agency portions and 14,891 Khonds in the plains areas of the Vizagapatam district.

Their social and economic conditions are the same as those of the other tribes in Vizagapatam district. Heavy indebtedness to sowcars of the plains is the rule. They make over almost all they produce for the interest alone on their borrowings. The sowcars make a gain of 75 to 100 per cent on such produce.

JATAPUS

Habitat and Population

The Agency portions of Salur, Parvatipur and Palakonda taluks in Vizagapatam district, about 69,440 square miles in area, are inhabited by Jatapus and Savaras. The Jatapus are distributed as follows in the Presidency :—

Vizagapatam Agency	12,443
Vizagapatam plains	44,198
East Godavari Agency	10
Total ..	56,651

They are concentrated in Parvatipur and Palakonda taluks, the population figures being 21,083 and 7,892, respectively. A great many inhabit the Salur taluk and the rest are scattered in the other taluks of the district.

Social Organization

There is no village panchayat holding sway over the village commune. The 'Nayudu' is the head of the community and there is one hereditary 'Nayudu' for each village who functions beneficially to the community and decides all the social and other disputes.

Language

Fifty per cent of the population speak 'Jatapu' which has a script of its own, but it has not been developed. All Jatapus are conversant with Telugu. In Palakonda, about 30 per cent of them can be said to be literates whereas, in other areas, they are mostly illiterate. They also speak another language called 'Khad Layar.'

Customs and Habits

The superstitious belief in them is that unless and until a festival with goat, pig, drink, etc., is celebrated before the harvest of every crop the God would endanger their life and fail the crops. This belief is responsible for a heavy drain of their resources; this superstition, according to the Special Assistant Agent, Parvatipur, is one that should be rooted out.

They are not addicted to drink or any other intoxicants like certain other tribes, for instance, Koyas, who mainly live on toddy. They indulge in it only during festivals when drink is offered to the Goddess. Since a religious sentiment is involved here, prohibition, when it comes, should take account of this fact.

No criminal propensity is noticed in their society and no inhuman method of punishment is in vogue. No custom or habit deserves to be interfered with.

Religion and Worship

They are all Hindus and consider themselves superior to the Savaras. They worship Jakara and Durga, the village Goddess. Their two main festival are the 'Goddali Panduga' and the 'Augum Panduga'. 'Jakara Puja' is their general mode of worship. Pigs, hens and goats are offered at the time of worship and drinking follows.

Marriage

All forms of marriage recognized by ancient Hindus obtain among the Jatapus; these are marriage by purchase, by service with the bride's father, by mutual consent, elopement, capture and by selection from the 'Dangadi Basa' (Maidens' Halls). The first three are in vogue among the plainsmen amongst whom the purchase has, in recent times, become that of the man instead of the woman; 'Illattam' son-in-law is only a stretching of 'service' method; mutual consent is, of late, coming into fashion; elopement and capture as such are prohibited by law and may occur only in civilized garbs. The Dangadi Basa is unknown in the plains, but is, in fact, an ancient, socially useful institution, which some hill tribes have kept up to this day. The usual way is for the boys' parents to arrange the marriage, but the tribesmen have provided for the abnormal too, in that marriage by elopement is also recognized; and the children born of them are recognized as legitimate.

Divorce and widow re-marriage are allowed; a younger brother usually marries his elder brother's widow, but in case the widow

marries outside the husband's family, a ' Rand Tanka '—widow's money—is to be paid. This money is obviously for the children of the previous marriage.

The Jatapus cremate their dead.

Economics

Agriculture, coolie labour and collection and sale of minor forest produce are the chief occupations of the Jatapus. The Jatapus have settled to cultivation with plough and cattle at the foot of the hills. Those in Parvatipur do *podu* also. Though settled to wet cultivation they usually have to begin cultivation with no money in hand, and seed, etc., have to be borrowed. In Parvatipur, in many cases, their best lands have passed on to sowcars in lieu of debts. They are now reduced to the state of mere farm coolies and in their efforts to pay off the sowcar indulge in a lot of *podu* cultivation. Except for a small number of rich Muttahdars among them, very few Jatapus own cattle; nor have they any manure to enrich the soil. They follow the ' Bakkeri ' system under which cattle are lent by the plains people at Rs. 10 per pair for use during one season. Generally, no undue exactions are made from them by the landlords, most of them being plainsmen.

Ragi, paddy, horsegram, groundnut and tobacco are raised. The hillmen do not know the value of their produce. They are too indolent and ignorant to go down to the open market in search of a fair deal. They wait for the sowcar to come and the surplus stock is marketed through the agency of the sowcar at about half the market rate.

The Jatapus are really keen on their agriculture. At Sitampeta, they asked for the application of the Cattle Trespass Act in order to protect their crops from straying cattle.

They also agreed to give up Podu, if facilities for settled cultivation—credit, implements, seed, etc.—are provided. There is perhaps some provision to advance these now, but what the tribesmen require is a definite captaining of their agriculture and other work. They plead for the construction of more dams across the geddas for improving irrigation.

There are no grievances, it is reported, regarding gaming rights in this area. They are not allowed to remove anything free of cost from the forest. They have to pay to the contractor even for the thatching and other materials they require to build huts.

Scarcity of cloth is felt keenly here. In this connexion, the plight of the Paidis who are the weavers is to be noted. The Paidis do not get yarn at all for weaving. The ' Charka ' is not known here and hand-spun yarn is not available.

They are heavily indebted and the money is obtained from the sowcars at 25 to 50 per cent of interest. They wait for the sowcar of the plains who manages to come up when the hillmen are hard up for cash, and takes the produce for what he likes. There are various ways by which the hillmen get indebted and, in every one

of them, the hillmen place themselves at the mercy of the sowcars in spite of the laws and regulations enacted to ensure his freedom from bondage. Credit is obtained in three ways :—

(1) At a rate of interest amounting to 2 kunchams per rupee, and Nagu or loan of seed, with cent per cent interest, if for seed; and 50 per cent if for consumption.

(2) Kandagutta—by this, the land is given away for enjoyment by the creditor for 8 to 10 years and return of loan is to be by instalment, each instalment being the year's enjoyment by the creditor.

(3) Bhoga Bandha—by this, the land passes to the creditor and the crop counts towards interest only.

One instance will do to show the havoc done by these debts. Mutaka Malanna of Devanapuram, a Jatapu, took Rs. 800 in the shape of 50 puttis of paddy ten years ago. Even at the present rate 50 puttis will make only Rs. 400. He has paid Rs. 400 in cash and also paddy at 7½ to 10 putties per year all these 10 years. The debt is not yet cleared and the sowcar holds him still a debtor for the original Rs. 800.

The tribesmen when told to obtain credit from Government promptly said "How will you give us quick accommodation in small amounts which we always need?" What seems to be required here and elsewhere is a warehouse combined with a small bank at different centres, which will collect the hillmen's produce and also afford the credit facilities he requires.

Medical

No arrangements exist at all for the treatment of 'Yaws' which requires hospital treatment. Maternity facilities are badly required and the Government have provided nothing till now.

SAVARAS *

Habitat

The Savaras inhabit chiefly the Salur, Parvatipur and Palakonda taluks of Vizagapatam district. Nearly two-thirds (7,856) of those resident in the Agency portions are concentrated in the Palakonda taluk.

The Savara country, with the lofty hills, darting mountain streams and gaping valleys, is very picturesque, though the Savaras have marred the beauty of the hill slopes, to some extent, by their *podu* cultivation, but they have, on the other hand, enhanced the picturesqueness of the hills and valleys by their terraced paddy fields which rise one above the other and are supported by stone revetments. The Savaras are also good at irrigation and have shown

* According to Dr. G. V. Sitapati, the name of the tribe should be written as 'Sora' if we are to follow the tribesmen themselves in the pronounciation of the word. The official spelling 'Savara' is however used in this report.

remarkable skill in collecting water by bunding up mountain streams and leading them downhill to irrigate their terraced fields.

The Savaras build their huts at the foot of hills or on hill slopes where convenient level grounds are available close to hill streams. Most of the Savara villages lie concealed in jungles, and strangers often find it difficult to trace their way to these villages along zig-zag jungle paths. The Savaras have some primitive sense of village planning, for their houses are often aligned in parallel rows which reflect a sense of orderliness. The huts are rectangular with walls built of mud and stone and neatly plastered with clay, and often decorated with white lines.

Population

The Savaras number 14,696 according to the 1941 census. Excepting a handful in the East Godavari the bulk of the Savaras have made Vizagapatam district their home in this Province; 12,842 Savaras live in the Agency areas and 1,842 in the plains.

Tradition

The Savaras are believed to be the descendants of the Savaras or Sabaras referred to in Aitareya Brahamana, the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and other Sanskrit texts and called *Suari* by Pliny and *Sabrae* by Ptolemy. The Telugus, a strong and more civilized people, are believed to have subjugated them and driven them to their present habitat. According to the Korni copper-plate grant, Kamarnava, the founder of the Kalinga Ganga dynasty defeated and killed at Dantavura (near Chicacole), Sabaraditya, the previous ruler of the locality—an event of about 720 A.D. Sabaraditya, as the name suggests, must have been a ruler of the Savara tribe. The Savaras are distributed in the Bundelkhand district of the United Provinces and also in parts of the Central Provinces. Their wide distribution and historical importance point to this tribe having occupied an important position in ancient India.

Subdivisions

The following twenty-five subdivisions have been recorded :—

(1) Arsid Savara; (2) Based Sora (or Beseng Savara); (3) Bimma Savara; (4) Bobibbilli Savara; (5) Dondiya Savara; (6) Gontora Savara; (7) Jadu Savara; (8) Jaro Savara; (9) Jati Savara; (10) Jurai Savara; (11) Kampu Savara; (12) Kindal Savara; (13) Kimsed or Kisser Savara; (14) Kudumba Savara; (15) Kumbi Savara; (16) Lambalanjia Savara; (17) Luang Savara or Luara Savara; (18) Mala Savara; (19) Mara Savara; (20) Moni Savara; (21) Muli Savara; (22) Mutta Savara; (23) Sarda Savara; (24) Sudda Savara; and (25) Tekkali Savara.

The significance of these divisions has not been fully investigated. The Jati Savaras, i.e., Savaras *par excellence*, regard themselves as superior to other divisions, the superiority being conferred by their abstention from the flesh of the buffalo, but not

FIG. 1.—SAVARA YOUTHS WITH THEIR *tangi* OR BATTLE AXES

FIG. 2.—SAVARAS WITH DANCE HEAD-DRESS OF BISON HORNS AND PEACOCK FEATHERS

FIG. 1.—EDANADAN CHETTIS, AN AGRICULTURAL TRIBE OF WYNAAD, MALABAR

that of the cow. Kindal Savaras are basket-makers (*Kindal* is a Savara word meaning basket). Kumbi Savaras are pot-makers. Luang or Luara Savaras and Gontora Savaras are workers in metal, the former in iron, and the latter in brass and bell-metal. Savaras of the low country are called Kapu Savaras or Pallapu. The Kapu section is sometimes called Kuduga or Bissoyi, derived from the Savara word 'Bissi' meaning salt. Among the Jati Savaras, there are three social divisions, viz., Gamangs, Buyyas and Parjas. The official village head is also called Gamang. The Buyyas are the priests; the Parjas are commoners and inferior in status. The offices of the Gamangs and Buyyas are hereditary and the rule of primogeniture regulates succession.

The presence of the Gamang and the Buyya is absolutely necessary on occasions of marriages and funerals, harvest festivals, etc. Sale and mortgage of land, liquor-yielding trees, partition of property and divorces are effected in the council of village elders presided over by the Gamang and the Buyya. This council of elders disposes of civil and criminal cases. The fines consist of liquor, cattle and a number of other animals.

Language

The Savara language belongs to the Munda group of languages as distinguished from the Dravidian and Aryan linguistic families. So, linguistically, the Savaras stand apart from the Koyas and other Dravidian-speaking tribes. The Savara language is very peculiar in its structure, and is rather difficult to learn. The late Gidugu Ramamurti Pantulu has published a dictionary of the Savara language, and the Missionaries working among the Savaras have published translations of some of the Gospels in the Savara language using the Roman script.

Customs and Habits

The Savaras remind the observer of an old world civilization. Even in the neighbourhood of big villages, the Savaras are timid and try to avoid contact with officials. The jeep in which the members of the Committee were proceeding to one of the Savara villages near Sitampeta so terrified a band of Savaras returning home after their day's work that they rushed away like frightened animals and disappeared in the bushes on the roadside. Men and women deck themselves with feathers and strings of beads and look indeed very picturesque in their simplicity. A light battle-axe—*Tangi*—seems to be a very favourite weapon with them. They are physically very strong and, when roused nowadays by tyranny, are prone to be violent. The savageness of the Savaras is still noticeable in the interior of the country. In old manuscripts, it has been recorded that infuriated Savaras did not, in the past, hesitate to kill and plunder zamindars who gave them trouble.

Corpses are usually cremated, and occasionally weapons, ornaments and a few valuables are sometimes burnt along with the body.

For the final death ceremony known as "Guar" which is very elaborately celebrated, buffaloes are sacrificed and a memorial stone is erected in honour of the deceased person. Liquor is an essential item in the feasts during the funeral ceremonies.

Marriage

Marriage by capture was probably in vogue in former days. Elopement is held to be a recognized form of marriage though it is regarded as inferior to the marriage ceremonially gone through. Bride price must however be paid by the eloper-bridegroom when the parents of the girl demand it. Refusal to pay bride price would make the party an offender and this offence is punishable. Elopement is resorted to in some cases when the bridegroom is not in a position to pay the bride price. Marriages are, as a rule, preceded by a period of courtship.

In arranging for marriages the initiative is always taken by the bridegroom's party and never by the bride's party. In cases of adult marriage the prospective bride and bridegroom generally meet and exchange expressions of mutual love before the formal advances are undertaken by the bridegroom's parents. In cases of infant marriage, the parents make the selection of the bride for their son. The negotiations are initiated with the present of a pot of liquor as in the case of Jatapus. The bride price has to be paid before the actual marriage ritual. Men and women drink liquor at the time of the marriage.

Sexual liberty, to some extent, before marriage is tolerated, provided the young man and woman are both Savaras of the same endogamous group and they do not violate the rules of endogamy. A man who has intercourse with an unmarried girl will generally marry her in course of time and the obligation to marry her increases if she becomes pregnant by his intercourse. If he refuses to marry her, he is compelled to pay what is known as *Jaram* to the girl's parents for the maintenance of the child. The young woman who has thus given birth to a child before marriage is not, however, regarded fallen and she gets married more easily as she has given proof of her fecundity. No attempt is, therefore, made to prevent conception which may result from pre-marital relations and the children of the unmarried women are not deprived of their status though they cannot inherit the property of their father.

Economics

The Savaras, as already mentioned, practise *podu* cultivation and also wet farming, the fields being irrigated wherever there are facilities for it. They collect minor forest produce including *adda* leaves. A very large number are employed as labourers by cultivators and traders from the plains.

Among their wasteful practices should be mentioned the frequent animal sacrifices. Sacrifice of fowls is required during the preliminary funeral ceremonies, when a child is born, when the seeds

sprout and also when crops ripen and before the grain is eaten. If the crops are good, a goat is sacrificed; if not satisfactory, a pig or fowl is sacrificed.

Dance and Music

The Savaras are a very artistic people. The tribe has about two dozen musical instruments. On festive occasions men and women dance with very great enthusiasm to the accompaniment of various musical instruments. The dances and dance songs are worth fostering and preserving.

VALMIKIS

The Valmikis are a class of untouchables, found everywhere in the agency, who, according to the 1931 census, numbered 4,289. In the 1941 census, this tribe does not find a place. They are Hindus by religion. The Valmikis are sometime called Konda Malas, but they like to style themselves 'Valmikis.' A fair number of these people have become Christians. Their social status is low; even the hill tribes consider them as untouchables and keep them at a distance. However, they are very enterprising, and some of them have become rich; they are even purchasing lands in the plains. Sixty to seventy per cent are cultivators; about 20 per cent live on coolie work and about 5 per cent are petty traders. Most of them do basket-making and mat-weaving; the products are marketed in the local shandies. About 10 per cent of the creditors to whom the Bagatas and the Konda Kapus are indebted are Valmikis. The Valmikis have a tendency to exploit anyone including their own compatriots of the hills. They eat carrion and keep their surroundings very unclean and insanitary. The Valmikis are not an exception in the matter of drink and gambling.

Economically, the Valmikis are better off than the true hill tribes among whom they live. They have, moreover, become notorious as the ruthless exploiters of the aboriginals, not only in the Madras Agency Tracts, but also in the neighbouring territories of the Nizam's Dominions.

Though the Valmikis (or Konda Malas), strictly speaking, are not aboriginals, but are immigrants from the plains, they are among the hill tribes deriving benefit from the Agency Tracts Interest and Land Transfer Act, 1917. But, in view of the profession of money-lending which they carry on to the detriment of the true aboriginals, alienation of land to the Valmikis should be stopped.

KAMMARIES (KAMMARAS)

This tribe is another untouchable caste. About 40 per cent of the Kammaries are cultivators. Some 20 per cent do carpentry, 10 per cent blacksmithy and the rest live on coolie labour. Their economic condition is very low. Seventy per cent of them are indebted.

They do quite decent carpentry and prepare articles with reeds, but do no blacksmithy. Nor do they manufacture anything on a commercial scale.

They eat carrion and are like the Valmikis in the matter of diet and cleanliness.

One characteristic feature noticed in this community is that they are respected by others for their morality. They are also very hospitable.

Population figure of this tribe is not available.

KUMMARIES

The Kummaries number about 4,000 and live scattered in the Gangarazu Madugole, Guttulaputti, Kilagada, Sukuru, Sujanakota, Paderu, Aradakota and Rudhakota Muttas of the Upper Agency of the Gudem taluk. They are potters from the plains who have settled long ago in the Upper Agency.

Only 30 per cent of them live by the caste profession of pottery; the rest are cultivators doing both *podu* and wet cultivation; about 15 per cent of them live by coolie work and collection and sale of minor forest produce. A few of them own cattle and buffaloes. Though sufficient pasture is available in the vicinity the condition of the cattle is very poor as they are not of good breed.

The Kummaries are like their brethren in the plains in the matter of food. They do not eat beef. They are a high class people and are not untouchables.

Venereal diseases are reported to a small extent among the members of this tribe, a matter in which the Kummaries are dissimilar to the other tribes in Vizagapatam Agency.

Only 1 per cent of them are literates.

In the census of 1891 and of 1901, they were returned as a subdivision of Konda Doras. The Zamindar of Pachipenta is a member of this tribe.

MUKA DORA or MOOGA DORA

The Muka Doras live in considerable numbers in the Bakuru, Sukuru, Paderu, Minumaluru, Kilagada and Aradakota Mutas in the Upper Agency. They have two totemistic sections, the 'Kora Vamsam' and the 'Naga Vamsam', who venerate the Sun and the cobra, respectively. They live by cultivation and coolie labour: some are enterprising petty traders. They irrigate their lands with liquid manure in a manner similar to that of the 'Kunnuvans' of the Palni Hills.

They do not eat carrion or beef. Their position in the social scale is similar to that of the Bagatas. The Muka Doras too were returned in 1891 and 1901 census reports as a subdivision of

Konda Doras. They also apparently belonged to the Kui stock originally. They recognize one Vantari Dora of Padmapuram as their head.

They travel about with their pack bulls during the harvest season.

KODULUS

The Kodulus are found in Gangarazu Madugole, Ginnelakota, Kilagada, Rudhakota, Gemili, Kanjari, Minumaluru, Bakuru, Kondapalli, Sukuru, Uppa, Burja and Gattumu Muttahs of the Upper Agency. This tribe has not been included in any of the 1921, 1931 and 1941 Census Reports; but, according to the information given by the Tahsildar of the Gudem Agency taluk, they number approximately 8,000. Their mother tongue is Kodulu which has no script. They all speak Telugu. About one per cent of them are literate.

About seventy per cent of them cultivate lands; the rest eke out their livelihood by cottage industries such as mat-weaving and basket-making. On an average, the labourers get work for about 180 days in the year; for those who are solely engaged in handicrafts, work is usually available for about 250 days in the year.

They are addicted to drinking, opium-eating and gambling. Their socio-economic conditions are the same as those of their compatriots in the Agency.

Apart from the tribes dealt with above there are some more tribes which are called minor ones because they are only in small numbers. They are—

(1) Kotias, (2) Porjas or Porojas or Jodias, (3) Mulias, (4) Dhulias, (5) Ghasis, (6) Dombos, (7) Paidis, (8) Ojulus, (9) Oginbe, (10) Goudus and (11) Ronas.

The apparent maze of names of tribes gets somewhat resolved on examination into more tangible units.

KOTIAS

The Kotias or Paikos are of Oriya origin and, as their name Paiko indicates, are relics of the old Militia.

PORJAS

Habitat and Population

The Porjas and Bagatas live side by side in the Vizagapatam Agency and plains. On the basis of the 1941 Census Report, 14,269 Porjas were inhabiting the Agency portions, and 189 Porjas the plains areas.

Social Organization

It is gathered that the Janni and Mudili who are caste heads are holding sway over the community and they are said to be functioning beneficially to the community. Details are not available.

Subdivisions

The Porjas are not one caste or tribe speaking one language. There are seven subdivisions distinct from each other. They are: (1) Barang Porjas, (2) Pengu Porjas, (3) Khondi Porjas, (4) Parengi Porjas, (5) Munda or Bonda or Nanga or Langla Porjas, (6) Tagara Porjas and (7) Kur or Didayi Porjas.

Porjas in the Vizagapatam Agency are the Pengu and Parengi divisions who are respectively attached to the Kui-Khonds and the Gadabas.

Language

1. The Barang Porjas speak a dialect of Oriya language.
2. The Pengu Porjas speak a dialect of Kuni language.
3. The Khondi Porjas speak Kui language.
4. The Parengi Porjas speak Gadaba language.
5. The Munda, Bonda, Nanga or Langla Porjas speak Galaba language.
6. The Tagara Porjas speak Koya language.
7. The Kur or Didayi Porjas speak Oriya language.

Customs and Habits

The Porjas are usually beef-eaters; they are addicted to drink. They are all Hindus and worship the 'Bhumi Devata' (Earth Goddess) or Jakar Devata once in three years. The Bonda Porjas worship 'Takurani' also. Cow, goat, pig and pigeon are offered to her as sacrifice; drinking follows. She is represented by a stone under a tree outside the village. One of their castemen acts as priest. The whole village takes part and the ceremony comes to an end with a feast and drink.

Marriage

The usual forms of marriage including 'Illattam', 'Dangadi Basa' and elopement and marriage by force are prevalent among the Porjas. Usually the boys' parents go with a pot or more of liquor to the parents of the girl and settle the marriage. If they are not successful, after some time, they go once again with three pots of liquor and a cloth for the girl and ask for the hand of the girl for their son. Failing that, for a third time they go with more liquor. If they fail even in their third attempt, they give up the choice.

When a girl is taken by force, of course, the bride's party chases and tries to recover the girl. But if the boy succeeds in getting away with her, the choice is left to the girl. In cases where the girl runs back to her parents, she may be kidnapped once or twice

again when she goes to fetch water. If, even on the third occasion, she goes back to her parents, the rejected suitor goes in for some other girl.

Widow re-marriage is permitted, and usually the younger brother marries his elder brother's widow.

The dead are customarily burnt. A section of the Porjas bury the ashes of the burnt deep in a pit. The Bonda Porjas allow some of the jewellery of the deceased to be burnt with the corpse and give the remainder to the daughter or daughter-in-law. Pollution is observed for three days when those under pollution are prohibited from entering their fields. They anoint themselves on the fourth day with castor oil and turmeric and bathe.

Dance

According to Mr. Thurston, the Bonda Porja dance is considered to be a very humorous one. The young men tie a string of bells round their legs and do the active part of the dance. The women stand in a cluster with faces to the middle, clap their hands, and scream at intervals, while the men hop and stamp, and whirl round them on their own axes.

Economics

The economic condition of the Porjas is similar to that of the Gadabas. They are said to be good cultivators, very much attached to land. They have both shifting cultivation and permanent wet rice fields, but all of them do not have wet lands. Buffaloes and oxen are kept for their meat and ploughing, and goats for meat.

MULI or MULIA

The Mulia or Muli, Oginbe and Oja are blacksmiths and carpenters like the Kammari, so small in number that the Committee got little information regarding them. They are reported to be subdivisions of Loharas who are an Oriya caste of iron-workers, their name being derived from ' loha ', iron. The Oja is Telugu, eats beef and is somewhat superior to Paidis. They are all also called Mettu Kamsalis or upland blacksmiths.

It is also gathered that the Mulia or Lohara is an occupational subdivision of Savaras.

DHULIAS

The Dhulias or Dulias are a small sect of Oriya cultivators. The name is said to have been derived from Dhuli—dust, or Dholi—a form of palanquin. It may be here inferred that once upon a time they might have been palanquin bearers and sweepers. They wear sacred thread and are Vaishnavites. They eat fish and meat. Widow re-marriage is allowed. Marriage before puberty also takes place, but it is not obligatory.

GHASIS

The Ghasis, otherwise known as Haddis, are a low class of Oriyas and correspond to the Telugu Malas and Madigas and the Tamil Paraiyans. Those who inhabit the southern part of Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts are called Ghasis by other castes though they are said to call themselves Haddis; those in the northern parts of Ganjam are known as Haddis only.

This tribe is found omitted in the list of selected tribes tabulated in the 1941 Census Report. During the 1931 Census, 6,081 Ghasis were returned from both the Ganjam and Vizagapatam Agency as well as plains areas. Now they are a few in Vizagapatam district on the Ganjam-Vizagapatam borders.

The Rellis are an endogamous division of the Haddis or Ghasis. The three main divisions are—Haddis proper, Rellis and Chachadis.

They were syces and used to look after horse stables. The women used to cut grass for the horses while the men were their attendants. The name Ghasi may be a corruption representing the Hindustani ' ghaskoda ' or ' ghaskata ', the digger or cutter of grass. It may be the title of the grass cutter, one such being usually attached to each horse, besides the syce.

The disputes are decided by the headman called ' Bissoyi ' who is assisted by the ' Behara ' and ' Gonjari ', caste servants.

Various exogamous septs are reported to exist, e.g., asvo (horse), chintala (tamarind), liari (parched rice), etc.

Nowadays Telugu marriage customs have crept in. The usual tribal custom is for the boy's party to go to the girl's house for the negotiations. If the parents of the girl agree to the alliance, then a small space in front of the house is cleared and smeared with cow-dung water where the boy's party deposit a pot of toddy. The bride and the bridegroom are presented with new clothes and ' Mokuttos ' (forehead chaplets), and wrist-threads dyed with turmeric-water are fastened both to the bride and the bridegroom. After some time a virgin unties and removes them; a feast follows. The bride-money is called ' kanyo mulo ', and is usually Rs. 20. The marriage is celebrated in the presence of the ' Nayako ' or ' Behara ', the assistants of their caste headman, Bissoyi. In some cases, the Bissoyi of the future bride's village ties a ' Konti ' (gold or silver bead) on her neck after which the usual ceremonies follow.

As a rule, pork must be served at the marriage feast.

The Ghasis are employed as sweepers and scavengers under local bodies.

DOMBOS

Habitat

The Dombos, an untouchable caste, are found in the Vizagapatam Agency areas alongside of the Bagatas, Gadabas, Jatapus and Savaras. The Dombo is the Oriya proto-type of the Paidi, Valmiki or Pano. According to a note on the Dombo in the Census

Report of 1881, the same man is called Paidi by the Telugus, Dombo by the Savaras and Pano by the Khonds, and Pano quarters in Khond villages are called *Dombo Sai.*

Population

During the 1941 Census, 20,305 Dombos from the Vizagapatam Agency areas, 346 from the plains, six from Salem and eleven from Coimbatore were returned. Under the name Pano, 522 were returned from the Vizagapatam Agency areas. If the statement that the Dombo goes by different names in different areas or is called by several names by their neighbouring tribes is correct, then out of a total of 21,190 Dombos, the vast bulk of 20,827 inhabit the Agency portions of the Vizagapatam district.

Social Organization

The muttahdar is the head of all the people in the villages under his jurisdiction. There is no indigenous panchayat or caste panchayat; the muttahdar decides all disputes and his word is final.

Subdivision

They are divided into five main divisions:—

Onomia, Odia, Mandiri, Mirgan and Kohara.

Among the Odia group, the following totemistic septs are said to exist:—

Bhag (tiger), Balu (bear), Nag (cobra), Hanuman (monkey God), Bengari (frog), Surya (the Sun), Matsya (fish), Jaikonda (lizard), Kochchipo (tortoise) and Kukra (dog).

Language

Some speak Telugu and some Oriya, which depends upon the region in which they live.

Customs and Habits

The Dombos are a scheduled caste community. They are all beef eaters, only the animals representing their totemistic septs being taboo. All are addicted to drink and opium eating, and gambling too.

Professionally, they are all weavers, and nowadays, they are pushing brokers. They act as middlemen between the hill people and the Komati traders or the sowcars and earn large profits in the transactions.

They have a natural inclination to the art of music and a good number of them are said to be employed as musicians, pipers and drummers under the Maharaja of Jeypore.

In days gone by, they used to supply the victims for the 'Meriah' sacrifice. They were to kidnap youths from the plains and rear them for this purpose. Because of this service, the otherwise aristocratic Khond allowed liberties to the Panos which has led to an admixture of Pano blood in the Kui. The Dombos cremate their dead.

The Dombos are also looked down with contempt by other tribes as very low and arrant thieves.

They name their children after the days of the week on which the individual was born.

Marriage

Girls are usually married after puberty. The usual 'menarikam' (marrying mother's brother's daughter) is common; a man can claim it as a matter of right. 'Eduru menarikam', i.e., marrying father's sister's daughter, is also allowed. The procedure adopted in settling marriages is similar to that of the Porjas, i.e., opening the negotiations with liquor pots. If *menarikam* is followed, then the number of liquor pots decreases and the 'jolla tanka'—the bride price—is also reduced. It is usual for the bridegroom to go to the bride's house with his relations where the hands of the couple are linked by elders and some turmeric, coins, etc., are tied up in their clothes. After bathing the couple in 'Manjalthannir'—turmeric water—on the third day, the relations and friends are given a feast including drink. After a few days, the knots containing turmeric, coins, etc., are untied, when the marriage ceremony comes to a close.

Widows are allowed to re-marry. A widow usually re-marries the younger brother of her husband.

Some of the Dombos of the Parvatipur Agency follow many of the customs of the plains castes and say they are the same as the Paidis of the adjoining plains with whom they inter-marry.

Economics

The economic condition of the Dombos can be said to be on a par with that of the Valmikis who have earned a bit of wealth by money-lending. As stated already under 'Customs and Habits', the Dombos have earned by mediation between sowcars and hill people.

Their main occupation is cultivation and they do Podu. A vast majority of them are ryots under the Maharaja of Jeypore and each pays a rent of half a rupee irrespective of the extent of land he holds.

GOUDUS or GAUDOS

The Goudus are a class of shepherds. The Madras Province had a large number of Goudus, but they were transferred to Orissa with the transfer of Ganjam to Orissa. We have now a few Goudus scattered on the Orissa borders of Vizagapatam district. Their number is so small that the Committee could not investigate into their conditions. According to reports, it is seen that their socio-economic conditions are more or less similar to those of other minor tribes in the Vizagapatam district.

The Goudus speak Oriya. They are divided into fourteen subdivisions: (1) Apoto, (2) Behara, (3) Bolodiya, (4) Dongayato, (5) Dumalo, (6) Gopopuriya, (7) Kolata, (8) Komiriya, (9) Kusilya, (10) Ladia, (11) Madhurapurya, (12) Mogotho, (13) Pattilia and (14) Sollokhondia.

It is noted in the Census Report of 1871 that "there are many Goudus of high social standing, who have got for themselves much wealth in cattle. These men own, in many instances, large herds of buffaloes, which, being reared in the plentiful pastures of the hills, are much prized by the cartmen of the low country for draught purposes."

The reason for their non-inclusion under tribes in subsequent Census Reports may, perhaps, be due to their high social standing.

RONAS

After the transfer of Ganjam to Orissa, the small number of Ronas are found chiefly in the Jeypore Zamindari area. During 1921 Census, 26,780 Ronas were returned. In the subsequent reports, this tribe was omitted. Their language is Oriya.

The word 'Rona' is the incorrect English form of 'Rana', which word is the Oriya version of 'Padal'. They were formerly retainers of the old local chiefs after the Odra occupation of the Kui land. Through coercion and cajolery, the Ronas carved estates for themselves from the lands owned and cultivated originally by the conquered Kuis, and are now Muttahdars.

They trace their descent to seven brothers who had come from somewhere and taken service with the Rajas of Nandapur, former capital of Jeypore. Their first settlement was at Borra. They have the title Paiko. The Paiko caste-head assumes the title 'Nayako'. They married into other castes, Oriya as well as hill tribes.

They are divided into four main divisions, viz., Odiya Paiko. Rana Paiko, Kottia Paiko and Puttiya Paiko. Odiya Paiko is the socially highest because of some Odiya Kshatriya blood and is considered only slightly inferior to the true Kshatriyas. Rana Paiko is the main body of the original caste. Kottia Paikos are descendants of Rana Paiko men born to the women of the hill tribes. The name should really be 'Kuthiya', meaning a hill. Puttiya Paikos are descendants of the Kottia Paikos and hill women.

The Ronas have totemistic sept names, e.g., Khinbudi (bear), Kora (Sun), Nag (cobra), Matsya (fish), etc., which are similar to those of Muka Doras.

The caste-head, Nayako, is called 'Bhatho Nayako' who resides at Nandapur. He settles all social disputes. He also performs the ceremonial cleansing of men who are polluted by being beaten with a shoe. Divorces and civil suits are settled by a caste council, the Bhatho Nayako presiding.

Girls are married after puberty. During the first menstrual period, the girl is kept inside an enclosure in the house, built of seven arrows and she is not to be seen by males for six days. On the seventh day, she is bathed and dressed in a new cloth. It may be mentioned that such a custom is observed by the Muka Doras and Ghasis also.

It is customary for a Rona to marry a paternal uncle's daughter, which is peculiar. Widow re-marriage is allowed and, as among some other tribes, the widow is to re-marry her husband's younger brother. Divorce is permitted, but as already stated, it should be approved by the caste headman-in-council.

Socially, they are considered to be next only to Brahmans and this status is granted even to the sections born of hill tribe women.

They eat flesh of animals but beef and pork are prohibited.

They worship Takuranis.

Nowadays, they have taken to cultivation and many of them are settled ryots under the Raja of Jeypore. Some Ronas are still army retainers of the Raja. Some of them use the bow and arrow even today.

CHAPTER VII

TRIBES OF MALABAR

(A) TRIBES OF WYNAAD

The Wynaad taluk is geographically a part of the Nilgiris Plateau. The eastern half of Wynaad contiguous with the Nilgiris and Coorg is inhabited by Kanarese-speaking tribes and the western half, by Malayalam-speaking tribes. When the Nilgiri-Wynaad Plateau began to be opened up by European planters, they found the country in the possession of a few landlords, chiefly Malayalees, for, the whole of the Wynaad area, until its cession to the East India Company by Tippu Sultan was part of the dominions of the Raja of Kottayam. The actual cultivators were the tribes, such as the Kurichiyas, Mulla Kurumbar and Chettis. During the chaotic days of early British occupation, tribal peasants lost their holdings to planters and their agents getting little or no compensation. There are cases in which tribesmen who owned acres of jungle land had their properties confiscated just because they were not in a position to pay petty demands made by the revenue officials. With the creation of big pepper, cardamom and coffee estates, there was an influx of labourers from the plains into Wynaad. Petty merchants, money-lenders and labour recruiting agents also came in and, with this influx of plains population into Wynaad, began also the troubles for the aboriginals.

Since the introduction of European coffee cultivation into the Wynaad taluk, the jungle tribes and other servile groups who used to cultivate rice fields in that area have been attracted to the more profitable employment on coffee estates (page 214 of Logan's Manual).

The best cardamom the world ever produced is in the country which lies at the head of the Periya Pass in the Wynaad taluk.

Podu cultivation, known as *punam* cultivation in Wynaad, is practised by the Kurichiyas and other agricultural tribes.

The valleys of the Wynaad hills, particularly in the western half of the taluk, have been cleared and converted into wet rice fields. A good deal of this clearance was done in ancient days by the Kurichiyas. These fields are very fertile and the yield per acre is higher than that in most other parts of the Malabar district. It is possible to extend the area under permanent wet cultivation in the Wynaad provided (1) sufficient labour is available for the hard work involved and (2) the anti-malarial operations are carried on on an extensive scale to prevent the heavy casualties now occurring in labour forces in the taluk.

The Land Colonization Scheme in Wynaad envisages the extension of anti-malarial operations, but, at the rate at which it is now being done, it may take indeed a very long time. More extensive and intensive operations are, therefore, called for. It must be stated here that whatever capital is invested in the Wynaad area will pay good dividend and Wynaad might well become the granary of the Malabar district.

The following are the tribes of Wynaad :—

1. **Chettis—**
   - **(a) Edanadan Chettis.**
   - **(b) Wynaadan Chettis.**
   - **(c) Mandatan Chettis.**
2. **Kurichiyas.**
3. **Mulla Kurumbars.**
4. **Urali or Vettu Kurumbars.**
5. **Kunduvatiyans.**
6. **Karimpalans.**
7. **Kaders.**
8. **Pathiyans.**
9. **Uridavans.**
10. **Thachanad Muppans.**
11. **Kanaladis.**
12. **Adiyans.**
13. **Paniyas**
14. **Pulayans.**
15. **Jen Kurmbars or Ten Kurumbars.**
16. **Kattunayakans.**

1. a. EDANADAN CHETTIS

The Edanadan Chettis are a tribe of agriculturists said originally to have come to Wynaad from Coorg. They are agriculturists by profession. They speak a mixture of Kanarese and Malayalam. They follow the *Makkattayam* law of inheritance. The status of a re-married widow is inferior. There are both Saivites and Vaishnavites among them.

1. b. WYNAADAN CHETTIS

This class of Chettis is found in the eastern villages of Wynaad. They are also agriculturists by profession and follow the *Marumakkathayam* law of succession. Their language is Malayalam. It is said that the ancestors of the Wynaadan Chettis came from Dharapuram in Coimbatore and that they were Vellala Chettis. There are two distinct kinds of marriage rites among them, one which permits marital relations but does not permit the woman to live with her husband at his house, and the other called ' Mala kalyanam ', which confers on the woman the right of living with the husband. The Wynaadan Chettis are exclusively agricultrists cultivating wet lands and also raising dry crops. There are five families recognized as heads of the community for all social purposes.

They are a very hard-working, law-abiding and peaceful people, very fond of hunting. Annually, they stage a tiger hunt in which the tiger is captured in a net and speared to death.

Though there are some substantial farmers among the Wynaadan Chettis, most of them are now poor and heavily indebted to the clever Moplah money-lenders of Sultan's Battery. They are also addicted to drink.

1. c. MANDATAN CHETTIS

According to their tradition, it is said that they originally came to Wynaad from the Nilgiris district. About five hundred families of Mandatan Chettis are said to inhabit the Gudalur division of the Nilgiris district. In general appearance, such as dress and in their laws of inheritance, the Mandatan Chettis resemble the Wynaadan Chettis. They are also agriculturists who, as far as possible, try independent farming. Regarding their marriage customs, the remarkable feature is that a widow has to marry her husband's brother to the exclusion of strangers.

2. KURICHIYAS

Population

The largest number of the Kurichiyas are found in the Wynaad taluk, but a few are found in the Kurumbranad, Kottayam and Calicut taluks. Out of a total number of 12,131 Kurichiyas in the Province, 12,124 inhabit the Malabar district.

Tradition

The Kurichiyas are, strictly speaking, the first agricultural tribe from the plains of Malabar who colonized the Wynaad. They occupy the highest social position among the tribes of Wynaad, being polluted by the approach or touch of other tribesmen such as the Paniyas. They are excellent bow-men, and played a great part in the Pazhassie (Pyche) Raja's rebellion at the beginning of the nineteenth century. They are a tribe of agriculturists who used to have their own lands. But recently, most of them have been dispossessed of their holdings by money-lenders and petty traders from the plains who have invaded Wynaad. They are, as a class, so honest and simple that they are an easy prey to any exploiter.

Social Organization

The Kurichiyas follow a very rigid system of Marumakkathayam. The head of the family—*Karanavan*, his wife and children, his sisters' sons and their families live together in a large joint family numbering, sometimes, about fifty individuals. The members of a typical joint family live in five or six large-sized houses in a cluster. As soon as a boy is old enough to work he has to go and join his uncle's home which is his legal home; similarly, on the death of the husband, the widow and her children return to their ancestral home. The sons and daughters have no right to their father's property. The Kurichiya territory is divided into several *Nads*, and over each *Nad* there is a headman. A council of elders presided over by the headman of each *Nad* settles communal disputes. The Kurichiyas are so orthodox in the matter of untouchability and food taboos that for the violation of the rules in these matters the punishment is often very severe. For social offences, men and women are often excommunicated and such excommunicated individuals nowadays become converts to Christianity. Most of the Christian Kurichiyas in Wynaad are people who have been excom-

municated for social offences. The orthodoxy of the Kurichiyas has some very interesting and inconvenient repercussions. Imprisonment to a Kurichiya is almost social death. In a jail, he has to break the Kurichiya rule which prescribes that he should not eat food cooked by any but a Kurichiya or a Wynaad Nayar. Any threat of punishment by imprisonment will terrorize the Kurichiya to such an extent that he would part with his all to escape the ordeal. His orthodoxy is a handicap to the Kurichiya in all walks of life including the education of his children.

Drink

Like most other tribesmen, the Kurichiyas are very fond of alcoholic drinks. Because of administrative difficulties, the tapping of palms for toddy has been prohibited in the Wynaad taluk and this prohibition compels the Kurichiyas to consume the very costly arrack which is sold in the licensed shops. For the various religious ceremonies, particularly the annual '*Kumbham*' ceremony, the Kurichiyas are obliged to get toddy from the plains under a special licence. This, of course, is very troublesome, and because of the difficulties in procuring toddy for the ceremonies, several of them are left uncelebrated. The Kurichiyas ascribe the occasional failure of the crops, the diseases of their children and cattle and most other ills to the consequent anger of the tribal gods. Since these people are so very superstitious and too uneducated to understand the prohibition policy of the Government, prohibition, when extended to Wynaad, is certain to cause considerable discontent and hardship to the religious Kurichiyas.

Economics

The Kurichiyas are independent farmers, practising both wet cultivation and dry or *punam* cultivation. Many of them own cattle, but one very great handicap is the frequent occurrence of cattle diseases which destroy their stock. The Kurichiyas enjoy an aristocratic status. They are timid and avoid purchasing and selling in the open market. Instead of buying their necessaries in the bazaars, they prefer to get them from visiting pedlars who sell things at exhorbitant rates. Money accounts confuses them; they are so truthful that whatever the creditor says is due from them they pay without effective questioning. As a consequence of their timidity and ignorance, many Kurichiyas who were substantial landholders are now very heavily indebted to the various money-lending classes of the small towns of Wynaad, such as Manantoddy and Sultan's Battery. The Kurichiyas have a natural aversion to work as coolies and do not do so except when they become quite helpless.

Education

Schools in Wynaad are very few, distances long and, to add to these difficulties, as already mentioned, the orthodoxy of the Kurichiyas prevent their children from getting educated. The number of literates among them can be counted on one's fingers.

FIG. 1.—KURICHIYAS, AN AGRICULTURAL TRIBE OF WYNAAD, MALABAR

FIG. 1—MULLA KURUMBAS, AN AGRICULTURAL TRIBE OF WYNAAD, MALABAR

3. MULLA KURUMBARS

The Mulla Kurumbars differ very little in general appearance, dress, customs, etc., from the Kurichiyas. They speak Malayalam, are fond of hunting, very truthful and clean and are, like the Kurichiyas, chiefly agriculturists, practising both paddy cultivation on wet lands and *punam* cultivation on the slopes of the hills. Except the poorest among them, they do not usually work as coolies. But, unlike the Kurichiyas, the Mulla Kurumbars follow the *Makkattayam* law of succession. They are experts in hunting, and are good shots with their bows and arrows. During the Kottayam Raja's rebellion against the English, the Mulla Kurumbar fought very valiantly with the Raja.

The women, like Kurichiya women, cover their breasts with a piece of cloth, the upper corners of which are fastened on the shoulder. They also live in very large joint families consisting of several brothers, their children and nephews.

They have four *Kulams* which are inherited through the mother. Their God is known as ' Kariappan '. The Kurichiyas and Mulla Kurumbars are mutually polluting and do not eat each other's food.

Each married man lives in a separate hut. Like the Kurichiyas and Nayars, among the Mulla Kurumbars, there is the ' Tali Kettu ' ceremony, but the person who ties the ' Tali ' is the girl's mother's brother.

4. URALI KURUMBARS

The Urali Kurumbars are also called Vettu Kurumbars. They speak a mixture of Kanarese and Malayalam. They are the chief artisan tribe of the Wynaad taluk, being skilled blacksmiths, carpenters, potters and basket-makers. They make pots without the help of any appliance like the potter's wheel by scooping out the inside of a properly shaped lump of clay. These hand-made pots are fired in a crude kiln. Though the pots are thick and heavy, the Wynaad people fancy them and say that things cook better in the Urali pots. The manufactured iron goods available in the bazaars at a relatively cheaper price make smithy of little profit for the Urali Kurumbars. Nowadays, some of them are employed for felling trees by the Forest Department and by the local farmers. They supplement the ragi and rice which they cultivate or purchase for food by collecting edible roots which fortunately are available in plenty in Wynaad.

5. KUNDUVATIYANS

The Kunduvatiyans are a small tribe found in Puthadi and Purakadi amsoms, speaking Malayalam, and following the *Marumakkattayam* system of inheritance. They maintain themselves by paddy cultivation. Caste disputes are settled by a council of four elders known as ' Muppans '.

6. KARIMPALANS

The Karimpalans are a Malayalam-speaking tribe of north Malabar found in all the foot-hills of the Camel's Hump. In the 1941 Census they numbered 4,242. They do *punam* cultivation. They work in the forests as axe-men and also collect wild pepper. They follow the *Marumakkattayam* law of succession. They do not observe the 'Tali Kettu' ceremony, but have got the '*Sambandham*' form of marriage practised by matrilineal Malayalees. The Karimpalans are supposed to be capable of exercising Karuvilli, a demon whose possession is in the form of fever.

7. KADERS

This community is found in Tonder Desam, Terriote and Mangalasseri of Wynaad taluk. They were Nayars who accompanied the Kottayam Raja along with the Kurichiyas and assumed the name of Kaders (forest men), as they settled in forests. They worship Malakari, a manifestation of Siva as hunter.

Curiously enough their house is known as "Illam," which in Malabar, is the name of Nambudiri's house.

They were the lords of the forests in ancient times, but now while a few of them cultivate wet lands, the majority of them live on hill cultivation and some even work as coolies. They are bowmen and are experts like Kurichiyas in archery.

Besides their God Malakari, they worship another deity, Kariyathan.

They follow *Marumakkattayam* and observe some of the customs of Nayars. Paniyas and Naykans have to stand at a distance and the Kaders bathe if they touch a Tiyyan—but the Nayars have to bathe on touching them. Between the Brahmans and the Kaders, there is pollution only at a distance of seven feet.

They do not have the 'Tali Kettu Kalliyanam' of Nayars. The elders of the family arrange the wedding and the bridegroom and his friends go to the bride's, where they are treated to a good meal : the bridegroom hands over two new cloths to the bride's mother and the girl is then taken home by him. She lives with the husband, and even after his death she continues to live in his house for one year, after which she returns to her house when she is given cloth and the deceased husband's knife and other belongings.

Caste disputes are heard and disposed of at a meeting of seven elders of leading families.

A few Kader children are reported to be attending the Labour Schools. Nowadays, Kaders are employed as labourers in estates.

8. PATHIYANS

The Pathiyans are a small community of agriculturists inhabiting eastern Wynaad. According to their tradition they came to their present habitat from Punnat in Mysore and were following

the *Makkattayam* law of succession, but now they have adopted the *Marumakkattayam* law of inheritance, and also the fore-tuft of the Malayalees in the place of the back-tuft. Even now in their marriage customs there are some relics of their ancient customs such as the wearing of glass bangles in the case of women and the wearing of turban by the men at the time of marriage. The Pathiyans were originally Jainas, and this belief is strengthened by the fact that Jaina Brahman still officiates at their marriages.

9. URIDAVANS

The Uridavans are said to have migrated to Wynaad from Chittaldrug in Mysore. They are Vaishnavites, have back hair-tuft (*kuduma*) and moustaches, speak Kanarese, and follow *Makkattayam.* Their deities are Karinkali and Pakam Daivam (God of Pakam).

They are agriculturists and reside in houses called '*Ure*' (village). Their houses are not in groups but scattered, half a dozen or more being in the same neighbourhood. These have a headman called *Ejman* for each desam (hamlet) who decides caste disputes among the community. The fine varies from two to sixteen *fanams* according to the position of the party concerned and the gravity of the offence. Coconuts are purchased at once and broken and offered to Karinkali and Pakam Daivam, the kernel being consumed by the people present.

The wife lives in the husband's house. Widows are allowed to re-marry though it is not quite respectable to do so.

10. THACHANAD MUPPANS

The Thachanad Muppans are said to have come to Wynaad from Nilambur where a few families of this tribe are now said to exist. A group of huts of Thachanad Muppans is known as a *pathi*, and for each *pathi* there are two chiefs, the senior of the two being known as *Muthali* and the junior, as *Eleri.* The *Muthali* worships the male deity and the *Eleri* worships the female deity. Married people among them live in a separate hut immediately after marriage. They speak Malayalam and are illiterate. These people do not follow any definite law of succession, but it is understood that they are governed by *Marumakkattayam.*

11. KANALADIS

The Kanaladis are an exceedingly small community of oracles and fire-walkers comparable to the Malayans of the plains of North Malabar.

" They are a few in number; the men have to indent upon the Mulla Kurumbar, Pathiya and Chetti castes for wives, and when these classes wish to get rid of a woman, she is welcomed by the Kanaladi, who ties a *tali* round her neck, presents her with clothes and silver bangles and makes her his wife."

12. ADIYANS

The Adiyans are a tribe found in Vemom, Tirunelli, Pulpalli and Kuppattode amsoms in the Wynaad taluk. They are called Eravas in Kannada. They are agricultural labourers and are found chiefly around Tirunelli where they are servants of the famous temple. They are field labourers and have also hill cultivation. The headman is known as ' Muppan ', but the title is usually conferred by the landlords. Their language is a mixture of Kanarese and Malayalam, but more akin to Kanarese than Malayalam. They are truthful and trustworthy and do not run away from the employers as the Paniyas do.

13. PANIYAS

Population

The Paniyas are the most numerous of the jungle tribes of Malabar. In the 1931 Census, their number was 32,350. A small number of Paniyas were also found in the eastern parts of Ernad, Calicut, Kurumbranad and Kottayam taluks of Malabar and in the Mudanad, Cherangod and Namblakod amsoms of the Nilgiris, which brings the total figure to 32,410.

About 3,000 Paniyas are found scattered throughout the Gudalur taluk of the Nilgiris district, most of them being employed as farm labourers under Chetti ryots.

General

The Paniyas were actually agrestic slaves, bought and sold with the land, to which they were attached as slave labourers. Since slavery, in any form, is now an offence the Paniyas are theoretically freed persons; but their freedom is even now limited by the hard economic conditions under which they live. Families of Paniyas are now found settled on the farmlands of their temporary masters. Years of virtual slavery has made the Paniyas, as a rule, a demoralized community. It is said that the Paniyas would stoop to any crime; murder, for the sake of a piece of cloth, or theft, for the sake of a small fee paid by an unscrupulous employer were crimes which were of little significance to the Paniyas. But the Paniyas are, on the whole, a hardy people, and under the very hard conditions obtaining in Wynaad on account of malaria and very humid climate, the Paniyas alone can do the hard agricultural work, particularly in these marshy valleys. Any scheme of development of Wynaad has to take this fact into consideration : without Paniya labour, under the existing conditions, no extension of agricultural or forest operations will be possible in that difficult territory.

Tradition

Local tradition says that the Goundan landlords came across the Paniyas in a wild state, captured, domesticated and enslaved them.

There is no doubt that the Paniyas were the most ancient inhabitants of Wynaad. Their language is a dialect of Malayalam with some traces of Tamil terminations or words.

Social Organization

The jungles are divided into several parishes by the Paniyas and each of these has got a '*Kuttan*' who alone is entitled to plant the first rice seedling in the year.

The deceased ancestors are called "Pena" (பேனு) and an annual ceremony to propitiate these ancestral spirits is usually conducted.

The Paniyas call the Cherumans of the plains 'Aliyans', i.e., brothers-in-law.

Marriage

Marriage by elopment is exceedingly common among the Paniyas. About 50 per cent of them appear to have married in this way. It saves the contracting parties the expense of the feast and also the trouble of immediate payment of the bride-price which ranged from Re. 1 to Rs. 5 in pre-war days.

The Paniyas are extremely jealous in sexual matters, the man will not tolerate his wife speaking with another, and anxiety about the loss of the wife is a common worry to most Paniya husbands. As soon as a man marries he builds a separate hut for himself and his wife, but the new hut will be quite close to that of his parents. They are extremely fond of their children.

Every year the husband has to pay his father-in-law, a sum of Re. 1 known as 'Talapattam' (தலைப்பாட்டம்). If the father-in-law dies, he will have to pay it to his brother-in-law.

Economics

The Paniyas are very often duped in the bazaar. Calculating the cost of purchases and the counting and totalling of cash are difficult operations for them. The Moplah traders often take advantage of this weakness of the Paniyas.

The petty landholders who employ the Paniyas for agricultural work cannot profitably employ them on the scale of wages that they get on the estates.

The Paniyas eat ragi which is extensively supplemented by wild roots in addition to animal food.

The Paniya Labour Contract

The traditional practice in Wynaad for the recruitment of Paniya labour is of some interest and, therefore, is described at some length. The most important Hindu temple in Wynaad is known as "Vallur Kavu" near Manantoddy. At the time of the annual festival of this temple in the month of May vast concourses of Paniyas assemble in the temple maidan. On this day, farmers of Wynaad and other employers of labour also assemble. Groups

of Paniyas can be found engaged in active negotiations with their prospective employers discussing the amount of advance to be paid for each group. The employers pay the Paniyas lump sum advances amounting approximately to Rs. 30 for a family and the Paniyas sign a promissory note for the advance. This contract binds the party who has received the advance to work for the employer for a period of one year, i.e., till the eve of the next festival at Vallur Kavu. The money advanced is not usually repayable, but is only a guarantee of the service of the Paniyas for the year. If the employer is not tactful, he may, one fine morning, find the Paniyas absconding; and, if this happens at the beginning of the agricultural season, the employer will have great trouble in getting labourers for the season.

Employment of Paniya labourers is not at all an easy task because of the absence of any attachment on the side of the Paniyas either to the soil or to the employer to whom he is bound only by the promissory note and the amount of advance.

Very few Paniyas own land and do agricultural work as independent farmers. Though land is available in plenty in Wynaad the Paniyas do not have the capital either for seeds or for cattle.

Education

The Paniyas, as a rule, are averse to sending their children to school. One Paniya said "We have no intelligence." He also complained that the Moplah and Goundan employers usually placed obstacles in their way.

The Chelode Higher Elementary School, Nilambur, run by the Servants of India Society, maintains a hostel in which there are a number of Paniya children, both boys and girls. Just a handful of children attend other schools in Wynaad.

14. PULAYANS

The Pulayans are found in five amsoms of Wynaad and number only a few hundreds. They follow the *Marumakkattayam* law of succession, and, on account of this and other customs, have to be distinguished from the untouchable Pulayars of the plains portions of Malabar. Each village has got a Pulaya Headman known as '*Maruthan*', elected by the community for his ability to manage the social affairs of the community. They are field labourers, only very few having their own paddy cultivation. They are carrion eaters, and are considered to be lower in status than the Paniyas who are polluted by their touch. The Pulayans are employed chiefly by Moplahs as coolies.

15. JEN KURUMBARS

The Jen Kurumbars are a Kanarese-speaking tribe found only in the eastern half of the Wynaad taluk. Their alternative name '*Ten Kurumbar*' is due to their important occupation of honey-gathering. They are the same as the 'Jain Kuruba' and the

'Kadu Kuruba' of Mysore. They live in *pathis* on the slopes of hills under the supervision of the caste headman '*Muthali*'. They live on ragi grown in jungle clearings and on edible jungle roots. Their cheif deity is 'Masti'. A very large number of Jen Kurumbars are employed by the Forest Department as elephant mahouts.

16. KATTUNAYAKANS

The Kattunayakans are a very vile and backward, Kanarese-speaking tribe, similar in customs and manners to the Jen Kurumbars. One point of difference, however, is that the Kattunayakans eat monkey's flesh which the Jen Kurumbars do not. The Kattunayakans do not also engage themselves in the collection of honey. They are usually employed as labourers by the immigrant castes such as the Goundans and Nayars in Wynaad. Each group has got a '*Hettan*' (grandfather) as its leader. The name of their chief god is 'Masti'.

Even grown up individuals among them do not know the four cardinal points or to count beyond twenty. They shift their residence, and own no land.

Several of the tribes described above are included among "tribes without a future" by people who know them from close experience.

(B) OTHER TRIBES OF MALABAR

1. IRULAS

The Irulas are mentioned only in the 1941 census report. Malabar returned 2,500 Irulas (1,244 males and 1,256 females) and the Nilgiris returned 1,816 Irulas (1,418 males and 398 females), making a total number of 4,316. The small number of females in Nilgiris is astonishing. It is evidently a mistake for 1,398 or a case of the women evading the enumerators.

The Irulas also occur in the neighbouring Coimbatore district. They seem to be the same as their namesakes in the east coast. The Irula has been identified with the Enadi of the Telugu country who, in his turn, has been shown as the cousin of the Chenchu. The Enadi extends along the coastal districts eastwards of the Nallamalas, Veligondas and the Kalahasti Karvetnagar hills. He is most abundantly seen in Chittoor, Nellore and Guntur districts. In the adjacent Tamil districts of Chingleput, North Arcot and South Arcot too, he is a familiar person under the names of Irular and Villiar. How the Irula got to the Nilgiri hills across the Salem district is not clear. It may be that the Malaiyalis ousted him from the Shevaroys, Javadis, Kollis and Pachamalais and descended eastwards and westwards. A similar descent by the Chenchu of Veligondas, Lankamalas and Sadasivakone hills has been referred to under 'Chenchus'. In the east, he had nothing but the *palai* regions of the east coast to

inhabit and he took to the *palai* * mode of living and gradually got notified under the Criminal Tribes Act. In the west, there was enough of *kurinji* and *mullai*, and the Toda, Kurumba and Kota did not grudge him a place in their home lands. According to Kota traditions, the Irula is defmitely a later immigrant. He could not really get up to the mountains and lingers even now on the *mullai* of the slopes.

It should be remembered that the Kota himself claims the Kolli hills as an ancestral home. These western Irulas have no connection with the east coast Irular or Enadi. The Uralis who have traditional relationship with the Sholagar, sometimes call themselves Irular. We have seen that the Vettu or Betta Kurumba is called Urali. The Irula is seen in the Gobichettipalayam and Coimbatore taluks of the Coimbatore district, in the Attapadi valley and in the Waluvanad taluk of Malabar and on the adjacent Nilgiri slopes.

It has been suggested that a Koya founded Coimbatore (Koyan-Mudur). Perhaps, the Koyan was an Irula. He must have been important at one time, for in the interior of the Gobichettipalayam taluk at Kallampalla near Dannayakan Kottai thirteen miles west-south-west of Satyamangalam, an Irula priest officiates at a Sivalaya. The hillmen have added a Mariamma or Mariatta to the temple to whom they sacrifice goats and fowls. The Mariamma is a recent introduction as a precaution or cure for malaria and smallpox. Again, in the Rangaswami peak (5,000 feet) on the eastern fringes of the Coonoor taluk there is a Vishnu temple resorted to by the hill tribes. The temple is merely a circle of rough stones enclosing an upright one with iron trident fixed in the ground. A *namam*-wearing Irula is the priest here. The chief worshippers are Irulas. Badagas come here in large numbers. Only plantains and milk are offered, and holy earth from a nearby cave is taken home.

One who has known the Enadi can easily understand how an Irula can adapt himself to circumstances; if need be, he can display resource enough to tackle Saivism and Vaishnavism and play the priest too!

The Irula of the Western Ghats is more fortunate than his long lost brethren of the east at least in the prospects that await him. West of Coimbatore is Marudamalai where an Irula enclosure has been formed and further west of this is the great Attapadi Valley which is the valley of the Bhavani and Siruvani. The higher peaks are clothed with splendid forests; the lower, with stretches of open grass lands and bamboo jungles. The Bhavani flows south from the Nilgiri Kundahs through a densely wooded gorge and turns north-east into Coimbatore district above the village of Attapadi. The Siruvani joins it on the Coimbatore

* Classical Tamil writers recognize the following ethnogeographical divisions with characteristic tribes, gods, etc.: *kurinji* (mountainous tracts), *mullai* (forests), *marudam* (plains), *neidal* (coast-land), and *palai* (denuded waste land).

borders. Siruvani rises in the southern corner of the valley. There is a water-fall, a sheer drop of 2,000 feet, into a deep pool called Muttukolam.

The inhabitants of the valley are Tamil and Kannada Goundans, Badagas and hill tribes like the Irular, Muduvar and Kurumbar totalling about 10,000. There are no villages yet. Formerly there were only temporary dwellings which shifted with the cultivation yearly, the cultivation having been mainly *punam* or *podu*. There are some 110 collections of such huts and these are called the '*Urs*' (ஊர்கள்). They are hamlets which, with proper attention, may develop into settled villages. This is a huge tract nearly 500 square miles in area. It is big enough to make a taluk or at least a firka by itself. It is now treated as one village with a headman or Adhikari living in Agali situated in one corner of the valley. There are no Malayalis here except the collection agents of the Muppil Nayar who is the Janmi holding agency here. The inhabitants speak Tamil and their folk songs are said to be greatly appreciated by lovers of Tamil literature.

Paddy is grown in the swamps and in the valley bottoms; ragi, samai, dhal, plantains, chillies, ginger and turmeric are grown on the dry lands.

There is a Muppan for every *Ur*. The Adhikari of the estate or the Government collect from the tillers about Rs. 1,100 yearly. There is no assessment of a regular type yet.

Timber is the most important product. Twenty-one hills and part of another belong to Government; the rest were in dispute between three powerful Malabar Janmis, Mannarakkad Muppil Nayar, Palat Krishna Menon and the Eralpad Raja. The dispute led to blood-shed in 1901. A temporary settlement was made under section 145, Criminal Procedure Code. Mannarakkad got 44 hills and parts of 5 others; Eralpad got 16 hills and parts of 6 others, Krishna Menon, 10 hills and part of another and Janmi (Muppil Nayar), 2 hills.

Elephants and ibex abound in the upper slopes which are however difficult of access.

Coffee and rubber plantations have come up. The valley is very feverish and dreaded for this reason.

When not engaged on forest or estate work, the Irulas cultivate for their own consumption ragi, samai, thinai, red gram (thuvarai), maize, plantains, etc. They also cultivate limes, oranges, jack, etc. Like the Kotas, they do not attend to cultivation on Saturday or Monday. The Badagas supply the offerings for the deities, which are usually coconuts, plantains, milk and ghee, to the Irulas before sowing.

Irulas have small plots of land near their villages, in which they grow cereals. Wages in the estates, however, are their mainstay. Some are splendid cattle-men. Irula women are as useful as the men and both are far more industrious than the Tamil coolies.

According to one old account, in the Nilgiris, the Irulas make a poor show of themselves. The cultivation is done in a poor fashion—crops are poor and no harvesting is done. The whole family shifts into a temporary habitation in the field and plucks the day's needs. The grain plucked is roasted on a stone heated by means of fire kindled on it. The grain gets parched and is reduced to meal which is made into cakes. The stone is again heated and the cake baked. If a hollow stone is available, it is filled with water after being heated and a sort of porridge is made. There is a lot of resourcefulness displayed in this, but it also shows that the Irula has been reduced to that state by the usurping planters. For a good part of the year they live on a kind of wild yam called ' Irula root '.

The Irula does not eat beef; some of them evince the Kui's aversion even to milk. As with the Enadi, the Irula marriage system is very lax. Sexes co-habit indiscriminately, the option being with the woman.

It is stated by one writer that when an Irula dies a Kurumba shaves the head of another Kurumba. The shorn man is fed and presented with a cloth which is wrapped round the head. Perhaps, the Kurumba played the priest and personated the dead as is usual in the Hindu ' Shraddhas '. The dead are buried in a sitting posture.

Irula settlements exist in the following places: (1) From Ettimamadai in the Coimbatore taluk to Walayar in the Malabar district there are Irula hamlets at Edacheri, Parapatti, Naduppatti, Sholakkarai, Madamathi and Pullimanpatti. The Irulas have precarious livelihood—some cultivation and coolie work. They are indebted to the ryots on whose lands they live. They supplement their earnings with edible roots and bamboo seeds. They are mostly labourers and sometimes tenants and have no bulls and implements of their own for agriculture. (2) In the Bangalamedu settlement near Walayar waterfall in the Sholakkarai Reserve Forest. This is in the jurisdiction of the Iruttuppallam Forest Range, 15 miles from Coimbatore. There were originally 27 houses but only 12 remain now.

The Irulas live by selling bamboo to forest contractors. This work is available for three days in a week during six months in a year. They are paid one rupee on each such working day. The Forest Department has granted them land at one acre per head but wild elephants destroy the cultivation. The Irulas are also known to illicitly fell timber and sell them clandestinely.

They make bamboo mats, baskets, etc., and also grass mats for their own use. They can also make plough shares and wheels. But these are not manufactured on a commercial scale. They grow some ragi, samai and cotton.

Although excellent pasture is available they cannot keep cattle since they are in the Reserve Forest area. The Forest Department gave them six bulls for ploughing, but one of them

died and another was killed by a wild tusker. Some of these tribes live by watching fields in the plains for the ryots like Yenadis. They are treated badly by the ryots.

Malnutrition, malaria, laziness and non-production form a vicious circle characterising the Irula's life, as in the case of other tribes.

2. MUDUKKANS

G.O. No. 1869, Public (Political), dated the 14th November 1938, mentions a tribe 'Mudukkans' and the census report of 1941 records a return of 1,193 *Mudugans* from the Malabar district. There is some obvious confusion or error in transliteration in regard to this 'Mudukkan' or 'Mudugan'. It seems likely that the Muduvar or Mudugar are the people intended. For an account of the Mudugar, see 'Muduvar' under the Anamalai Tribes (pages 135–7).

3. KURUMANS or KURUMBANS or KURUBANS

Two tribes, Kuruman and Kurumban, are listed in G.O. No. 1869, Public (Political), dated the 14th November 1938, under Malabar district. The Census Report of 1941 records two tribes with the names 'Kurubas' and 'Kurumans' for Malabar district. The name 'Kurumban' finds a place only in the 1921 Census Report and has been omitted in subsequent reports. Here also, as in the case of Muduvar, the mispronunciation of the name 'Kurumba' by the enumerators has led to the creation of two or more tribes where only one exists. For a description of the Kurumbans see the account of the three Kurumba tribes of Wynaad, and also that of the Nilgiris. The Kurumbans are found not only in Wynaad but also in the Calicut and Ernad taluks.

4. ARANADANS or ERNADANS

The Aranadans, also called Ernadans, are the most primitive of all the hill tribes north of the Palghat gap. Their chief habitat is the Ernad taluk near Nilambur. In the 1941 Census 489 Aranadans were returned. They are a small black race, short in stature, with thick bushy hair and broad noses. They are considered the lowest amongst even the untouchables. They pollute all others within a hundred yards. Even Paniyans and Pariahs give them a wide berth, and they cannot come within a hundred yards of a village.

They use bows and arrows, principally for shooting monkeys, as they have a partiality for the money's flesh. They are not particular as to what they eat and are on a par with jackals in this respect. They devour snakes and putrid flesh of various animals. They extract an oil from the python which is said to cure leprosy.

The father of a family, so goes the story, used to take his eldest daughter as a second wife. This is now said to have been given up.

They are employed in felling trees in the Nilambur forests. They also cultivate fields for Mohammedans. They wear scanty clothing, and even use plantain leaves when hard up.

5. MAVILANS

The Mavilans are a North Malabar tribe omitted in the 1941 Census. They are shikaries and herbalists. They speak corrupt Tulu. The 1931 Census returned 1,341 Mavilans, all in Chirakkal taluk except for 25 men in Ernad. They are divided into *Tulu* Mavilans and *Eda* Mavilans, and subdivided into 30 *illoms*. They are employed as mahouts. They collect honey and forest produce, and also make baskets. Their headman is called *Chingam* (lion). Their huts are called *Mapura*. They are said to follow the *Makkattayam* rule but some are matrilineal.

Tadikadavu, Panappuzha, Kuttar, Vayakkara and Perumbon are the places where they live. The Chirakkal taluk is notoriously poor in communications and forms a little unknown island in the otherwise well-known Malabar district. Even for reasons other than the amelioration of the Mavilan and the Vettuvan, it is high time this taluk is opened up and brought into touch with the rest of Malabar. It is to-day the 'Red Fort' of the Communists of Malabar and ignorance and consequent poverty reign supreme here.

6. VETTUVANS

The Vettuvans of Chirakkal taluk are a low caste jungle tribe treated as depressed class and hence not shown separately. They have two endogamous divisions, Kodi and Peringala. Kodi women keep their hair long and wear a cloth. The Peringala women were till recently dressing themselves in leaves, a kind of a double-fan-shaped apron of leaves tied round the waist by a rolled cloth. This they renew daily. They wear their hair in a top knot.

They call their huts Kudumbus; they are made of split bamboo and thatched with elephant grass. 'Kudumbu' is evidently a corruption of 'Kurumbu', a village in *Palai* (desert region).

They follow *marumakkattayam* but the wife goes and lives in the husband's hut. A girl cannot wear a necklace of beads until she is married.

They are divided into 14 *illoms* named after the house names of the Janmis whom they serve. Their headmen are appointed by the Janmis and are called *Kirans* or sometimes *Parakuttis* (drummers).

Vettuvans, like Mavilans, live in the interior parts of the Chirakkal taluk.

Upwards of 440 square miles or nearly two-thirds of this taluk is unoccupied dry land, uncultivable rock and jungle. The growing of thatching grass in the large areas in the centre is a peculiar feature of the taluk.

Punam is the principal dry cultivation. Pepper is grown in the north and north-east in the forest and known as 'Taliparamba pepper'. Cardamoms and nendra plantains also grow. There are no Government forests in this taluk.

7. MALASARS

For an account of the above tribe, see 'Malasar' under the Tribes of Anamalais' (page 132–5).

8. MALAKKARANS

The Malakkarans or Malakkars were shown for the first time in the 1941 Census which returned 117 Malakkarans from Malabar. They are also called 'Malamuttanmar' and 'Malapanikkar'. They follow *marumakkattayam*. They are a superior type of jungle cultivators and hunters found in the Calicut and Ernad hills. Their houses are called Illoms. They consider themselves polluted by all castes below Nayars. When they come down to the plains they bathe before they enter their houses again.

They are good forest watchers and elephant catchers.

Their chief god is 'Maladevan'.

9. MALAYANS

The Malayans of Kottayam taluk are a tribe of exorcists and devil dancers. Their principal occupation is exorcizing devils. They also beg during the harvest season in various disguises. They sing songs and beg alms. They are similar to the Kaders of Wynaad. Only 48 Malayans were returned from Malabar in the 1941 Census.

CHAPTER VIII

TRIBES OF SOUTH KANARA

MALE KUDIYAS

General Description and Habitat

The Kudiyas are a mild and meek people, short in stature, generally fair in complexion, with a characteristic way of tying their dhoties and sarees. They appear to be a cheerful and contented people. The real hill Kudiya called Male Kudiya lives on the Western Ghats bordering Mysore at Dharmastala, Shishila and Neriya. Many Kudiyas have left the hills and are found in Puttur and Mangalore taluks of the South Kanara district. Some Kudiyas near Mangalore who are said to be Jains returned themselves in one census as Savaras, but this was only a whimsical stunt.

Population

There were on the whole 3,941 Kudiyas in the South Kanara district according to the 1941 Census Report.

Social Organization

'Gurikara' is the priest and head of the caste and is elected by the village—usually the village elders only. He settles disputes including divorce, etc. The Gurikara chooses his own council over which he presides. Fine is the usual punishment inflicted; and it is paid in the name of the deity, and feasting is done on fowl curry and toddy.

Another version is that the fine collected is not spent on feasts, but is given to the temples or the various godlings. The Gurikara has no share in the fine.

If the accused refuses to pay the fine, he is excommunicated until he pays the fine. He is not required to pay anything over and above the fine in default of payment at the first instance.

Language

The Kudiyas speak Tulu. They are all illiterate people.

Customs and Habits

The Kudiyas on the Ghats do not come down except once a week when they fetch the cardamom crop during the season. Contrary to the usual custom everywhere. a cluster of Kudiya families live together. They live, for the most part, in the jungles—beneath rocks in caves or in low huts. They are orthodox and do not take meals except from Brahmans. They do not shave their foreheads like certain other tribesmen. Theft is common in this community. Sexual relations amongst the tribe is very loose. They are fond of toddy.

They are Hindus, but are not untouchables; they worship Hindu gods and all the usual local deities. Their chief deities are Kala Bhairava, Kamandevara and the Pandavas. They offer flesh, toddy, fowl curry, etc., to the gods at the time of worship. When a deity is worshipped the Paravas—a Harijan class—are engaged for a dance. The Paravas are given a loan of the deity's jewels to be worn by them during the dance. They are also paid in cash. The usual occasion for festival is 'Visakha'.

They follow the 'Aliya Santana Rule' (succession in the female line) generally. Some in Shishila on Mysore borders follow the 'Makkala Santana Rule' (patrilineal).

Marriage

When a marriage is contemplated, the custom is for the prospective bridegroom's father to go, accompanied by two women, to the girl's parents with betel leaves, arecanuts and gingelly oil. Acceptance of these things is the sign of consent by the other party. The marriage ceremony is very simple. The bride and the groom are made to join their hands and water is poured over the joined hands by the girl's father. Those who have settled on the plains have adopted the ceremonials of the castes of the plains.

Widows may re-marry and there is no restriction to her marrying her deceased husband's brother. The really strange feature of their family life is that they do not object to a widow marrying her eldest son. This does not appear to be a custom, but two cases were reported from Neriya. In one case, there was no issue, but, in the other, the 'mother-wife' bore a son to her own son. Divorce is permitted.

Disposal of the dead

It is said that the bodies of those who die near the settlement are cremated, and of those who die far away are buried.

Economics

Dharmastala is a great shrine and the trustee here plays the father to the tribesmen. The hill men are attached to the temple and cultivate the temple lands. An "umbali" which is equal to six Kalasiges—which makes 1½ acres of land—is assigned to each Kudiya free of rent. If more lands are cultivated, for every 4 Kalasiges, rent is charged at 4 to 5 murras of rice. A murra is 42 seers. This works out to 250 seers per acre. Seed is supplied. The first crop yields 4 to 5 murras, and the second 2 murras. The "umbali" is similar to a "service inam." The service consists of lighting the temple, erection of pandals (booths), pulling the car, decorations, etc. They have to bring the bamboo from the forests belonging to the temple. For one member in every family, the temple provides two meals every day. Everyone owns cattle—plough-bulls as well as milch cows. They do not keep sheep or goats. They have he-buffaloes also for ploughing. The buffalo is

costly, and costlier than the cow. Crops get destroyed frequently by wild beasts, boars and bisons.

Shishila is a valley further west on the Mysore borders. The Kudiyas of this valley and Dharmastala are very much like plainsmen to-day, except that they have their caste rules and caste organization. At Shishila, too, the Kudiyas do not own the lands. There are no ' Umbali ' lands here. They cultivate lands on lease.

At Neriya, the true hill type of Kudiyas live. Four hills bordering Mysore form the homelands of these Neriya-Kudiyas. Cardamom estates afford the occupation. There are about 60 to 80 houses on these hills containing some 250 members. They were doing some Kumari cultivation, but even this has been given up owing to the menace of elephant, bison and wild boar. There are three estates here now, and the fatherly Hebbar owns one of these. Originally, the Hebbars owned all these, but partition between brothers resulted in sales to others. The wages paid to the Male Kudiyas are rations plus 4 or 5 annas per day. They get oil and other commodities also—all, as much as they want. Clothing is supplied in May every year. In short, it works like a happy commune headed by the Hebbar family. Sri Hebbar pays also the tree tax on the toddy trees reserved in Survey No. 146 for the use of Male Kudiyas. Of the other two estates, Kadalkar follows the Hebbar method. But with the Travancore Company, it is different. Rations are not given for children for the reason that they do not work.

Some Kudiyas rear pigs as a subsidiary occupation; most of them keep fowls. Many have not taken to pig-rearing for fear of tigers. The Kudiyas do not hunt.

Dress

The men wear the ' Dhoti ' in a peculiar way. They bring the cloth from under left arm over the chest and the back to the right shoulder where they knot the two parts of the cloth, a span away from the two ends. The flaps beyond the knot are tied around the right side of the body and a belt woven with cane keeps the cloth in place. A knife is stuck into the belt. The women wear the usual saree, but bring the end up to a knot on the shoulder like how the men do.

Food

The Kudiyas' diet consists of rice in the night and ' Kanji ' (gruel) in the morning. The side dish is mostly mere salt and chillies. Dhal is taken rarely. They eat pork, but not beef.

KUDUBIS

Habitat and Population

The Kudubis are found only in the Coondapoor taluk of South Kanara district. A total number of 11,885 Kudubis were returned from South Kanara in the 1941 census.

FIG. 1.—PANIYAS OF KANNOTH, MALABAR, A TRIBE OF AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS, FORMERLY AGRESTIC SLAVES

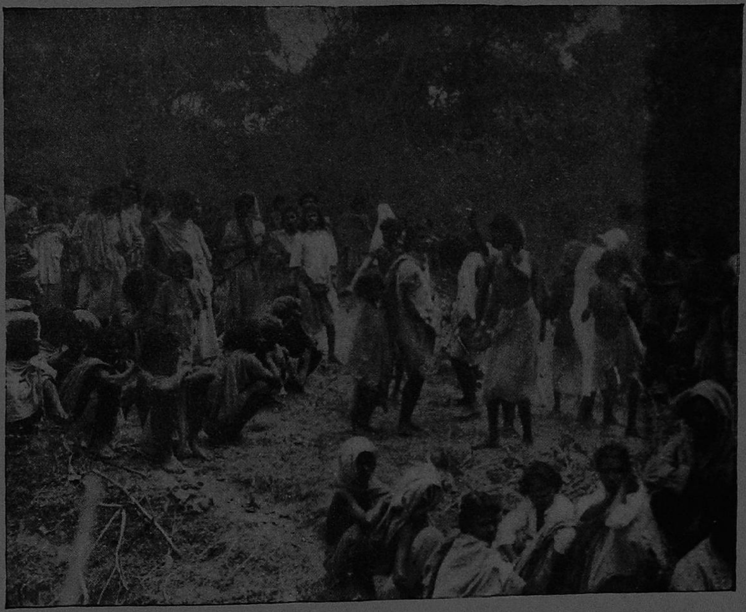

FIG. 2.—PANIYA DANCE

FIG. 1.—A KORAGA COUPLE FROM SOUTH KANARA, A TRIBE OF BASKET-MAKERS. (THE WOMEN WERE FORMERLY FORCED TO WEAR LEAF APRONS.)

Tradition

The " Kadu Konkani " of the early census table is probably the Kudubi. The Kudubis call themselves Kaluvadis. Another tribe in an equally depressed condition called Marathi is often confused with the Kudubis. Something in common between the two tribes can be suspected from the very fact that two sects of Kudubis speak Marathi. These are the ' Are ' and the ' Jogi ' septs. It is likely that these two are not Kudubis and are Marathis only. The confusion appears to have come about owing to the general mistakes made about the Konkani language. It is wrongly classed as a dialect of Marathi by many. The Konkani really belongs to the Ardha Magadhi group of Prakrits and those who speak it are also counted among the ' Pancha Gaudas ' and not the ' Pancha Dravidas '. The three others, viz., Goa, Kodiyal and Karia speak Konkani. It is noteworthy that the Konkani they speak is like the Konkani spoken by the Roman Catholic Brahmin of South Kanara and unlike the Hindu Brahmin's Konkani. The Catholics are known to have come from Goa, having been converted by the Portuguese there. The Goa Kudubis claim to have brought with them the sweet-potato, the cashew nut, the chrysanthemum and the Indian spinach. This latter claim is interesting and may signify that they followed in the wake of the Catholic Brahmins, perhaps, as their servants. The Catholic dialect is attributable to this. The Brahmins, however, would not admit them to Christian equality and brotherhood, being ' Catholics ' and they drifted away in their own clans, vargas or sects and kutumbas or families.

The Karia Kudubi represents the real Kudubi as different from the Marathi. He is short in stature and small, though well made. His features conform to the so-called Dravidian type. This need not conflict with the Gouda heritage of the Kudubi seen in his language Konkani. The Gouda too has generally escaped the white admixture of the northwest in the interiors of the country.

Subdivisions

There are five endogamous clans as already detailed under " Tradition " (viz., Are, Jogi, Goa, Kodiyal and Karia). The vargas are the exogamous septs within the clans.

Language and Literacy

Everyone speaks all the languages—Tulu, Kannada and Konkani. There are two schools being run exclusively for Kudubi children at Kannorie and Paduperar. They are taught in Kannada, the regional language. This does not present any difficulty, for, in this district, the teacher generally knows Konkani and the children too know Kannada. This is a trilingual district where the cosmopolitanism, characteristic of the Karnataka, prevails.

Customs and Habits

The kutumba (family) sense with this tribe is remarkable. It is a family commune. The family never divides and lives in one

house which is built all around a quadrangle, each husband and wife having separate apartments with separate bathing places with kitchens, gardens, etc., attached. Individuality shows itself here. A family in the Coondapur taluk has as many as 150 members. Another, at Bajpe, which is an average 'kutumba', has 30 families (husband and wife with their children). Each couple occupies one of the rooms round the quadrangle which is open to the sky, having the rooms well ventilated. The quadrangle is big enough for drying or airing grains and other commodities, and for assembling of the family and for dance. The cultivated fields are all around this great family house.

The Kudubis eat flesh—but only of animals that they catch. They snare rabbits, porcupine and bear and will not part with their flesh for any price. They are very fond of fish and are experts in fishing. They will not touch beef, and avoid even fowls and whatever has been domesticated. They are prohibitionists and avoid alcohol. They are fond of the hunt in which they use nets and spears. They have no dogs for the hunt. They are generally poorly clothed. They lead a primitive life with thrifty habits.

Their favourite entertainment is the "kolattam" by the men folk. They have a pretty-looking drum which is earthenware with raw hide stretched on to the opening on one side. A Kudubi colony is called a 'padavu'.

The Kudubis, like the Koyas and some other tribes of the Agency areas, do not use the new produce before the 'new crop festival' is performed. They call it the "Hosthu" festival.

Marriage

Girls are married either before or after puberty. Their marriage custom slightly varies from those of the Kudiyas. They celebrate the marriage for five days instead of only one day in the case of the Kudiyas. Widow re-marriage is allowed; but, as a custom, the widow will not marry a man of the sept to which her deceased husband belonged. Widow re-marriage is not accompanied by elaborate ceremonial as in the case of that of a virgin. Sometimes the marriage consists merely in the holding of a feast.

Disposal of the Dead

They bury the dead in a sitting posture with the legs crossed tailor-wise. Unlike the plains people amongst whom they live, they put some cooked rice in the mouth of the corpse before the grave is filled in.

Economics

The main occupation of the Kudubis was 'kumari' cultivation. They call their dry cultivation 'kumari' which is the name applied to shifting cultivation elsewhere. The Kudubis have given up shifting cultivation and have settled down. Some Kudubis were employed in the manufacture of 'cutch' from *acacia catechu.*

This tree is confined to Coondapoor taluk, as a rule. This was, in the past, a Kudubi monopoly. The Kudubi would begin his operation—felling the tree, etc., with puja to " Siddhe Devaru ". It is, perhaps, the monopolist trade in cutch that took some Kudubis to Travancore where they exist under the name of ' Kudumi ' and speak Konkani.

It will be interesting to note that ' Kudumi ' is also the caste name of the medicine-men belonging to the Irula and Jogi castes of the eastern districts. These Kudumis were once famous for their knowledge of curative herbs and roots, for blood-letting as a treatment, and for curing the effects of poisonous bites.

MARATHI

Habitat

The Marathis inhabit generally the Western Ghats but they abound in Adoor I and II, Panathadi of the Kasargod taluk, Aletti of the Puttur taluk, Hirga of the Udipi taluk and also in the interior of the Coondapoor and Mangalore taluks.

Population

Out of a total population of 37,485, 36,936 Marathis inhabit South Kanara district; the rest are scattered in Bellary district.

Tradition

It is rather a strange name to apply to a tribe considered in this report. Marathi is of Maharashtra and signifies the great people of the Bombay Presidency who ruled India before the British took it. This tribe has been given the name for the reason that they speak a low type of Marathi. They are taken for a low class who had migrated from Southern Mahrashtra or Goa. It may be that they and the Kudubis came down during some troublous periods—some Portuguese persecution or Muslim invasion.

Language

It has already been said above that they speak Marathi but some speak the Konkani dialect. They are, as a class, illiterate.

Social Organization

" Hontagaru ", they call their caste headman who settles all the disputes that arise in the society. They are divided into twelve exogamous " Balis " (divisions).

Customs and Habits

They are Hindus and are high up in the social scale. They follow Hindu customs and employ Brahman priests at religious functions. They respect the Sringeri Mutt and their chief deity is goddess " Mahadevi ". They are known to work hard and make good domestic servants and farm labourers. They eat fish and flesh,

but not beef and such other flesh as is usually prohibited among Hindus. They are addicted to drink.

Marriage

" Dhare " form of marriage is followed. There are two forms in " Dhare ". Marriage between virgins and bachelors is called " Kai Dhare ", and widow re-marriage is known as " Budu Dhare ". The essential part of the marriage is the " dhare ", the right hands of both the bride and the groom are joined together, the hand of the girl being placed over that of the groom, and water is poured on the joined hand from a silver " dhare gindi " decorated with flowers, coconut, sandal paste, etc. The " dhare gindi " is touched and blessed by the caste head, the parents and the managers of the two families before water is poured on the hands of the couple.

The caste head is consulted by both parties before alliance is formed.

Though not common, infant marriage is not prohibited. Marriage between a boy and a girl belonging to the same ' Bali ' is considered incestuous as falling within the prohibited degrees of kinship.

Widow re-marriage has social sanction, but the widow cannot marry into the family of her deceased husband. In some places widow re-marriage is prohibited. Divorce is allowed and is easy.

Economics

Their chief occupation was " Kumari " cultivation, and after its being banned, they are chiefly farm labourers. Though technically they are touchables they are so poor and miserable that their deplorable economic condition is no better than that of the usual Depressed Classes.

The Forest Department have permitted some Kumari cultivation in the villages of Muliyur, Karadka, Adoor, Mandokola, etc., with a view to encourage settlements within the reserve forests which may be useful for the departmental purposes also.

The Marathis are very primitive and stick to the hills; even those in the plains are very poor.

Several representations were made to Government by local officers and well-wishers to include this community among the Scheduled Classes so as to make them eligible for the special facilities afforded by the Labour Department. Unfortunately, their name and their being high up in the caste hierarchy has led to a denial of their request.

KORAGA

Habitat and General Account

The Koragas are found in the South Kanara and Bellary districts. This tribe is classed among the Depressed Classes but not as a hill tribe or a primitive tribe. There is however no other

tribe which is in a more primitive state than the Koraga. The present state of the tribe also illustrates the fate of communities which go under in a political upheaval. It will surprise anyone who sees the Koraga of to-day to know that he was once of the ruling class.

They are quiet and inoffensive, and have specialized the bearing of insults and ill-treatment as a tribal badge. They live in the outskirts of villages. They cannot live in mud huts and may live only in huts of leaves called " Koppus ". They were agrestic slaves bought and sold with the land till recent times. A section of them called " Ande Koragas " had to sling a pot round their neck for them to spit into since they were too low to be allowed to spit on the highway. A Koraga cannot use the highways after dark. Their women were compelled to dress themselves in leaves. The Koraga's truthfulness is proverbial. It is said that though they are in this degraded position they do not appear to be unhappy.

Population

A total number of 4,042 Koragas were returned in the 1931 census from the districts of South Kanara and Bellary, but the tribe has been left out in the 1941 census.

radition

A certain ' Habashika ' invaded Tuluva, and conquered it from Mayura Sarma, King of Vanavasi. This Mayura Sarma is evidently the scholar of Kanchi who founded the Kadamba empire. The ' Habashika ' was treacherously murdered after a reign of twelve years. The Kadambas now attacked Habashika's followers, overthrew them and subjected them to slavery. The Koragas appear to have accepted the slaves' position on condition that they are fed day after day without having to bother about the next day's meal.

The name Koraga may be a corruption of ' Kuruvar ' or hillmen. But the first part of the name has a new significance in this case. ' Kora ' is a name applied to sects among some northern tribes—the Gadaba, Muka Dora and Rona. It is said to mean ' Sun '. The Koragas are sunworshippers and name their children in the hill tribe fashion of the north after days of the week.

The Koragas have also taken to other deities, chiefly Mariamma. They observe the modern festivals of ' Gokulashtami ' and ' Vinayaka Chathurthi '.

The manner in which the Koragas name their children has already been mentioned. To give a few examples, ' Aita ' (Aditya) is the name of one born on Sunday; ' Toma ' is the name for Monday. The interchangeability of ' Ta ' and ' Sa ' in Tamil is a well known fact. ' Toma ' is therefore ' Soma ' which means the moon; ' Angara ' for Tuesday, after Angaraka or Mars; Gurva ' for Thursday after ' Guru ' or Jupiter; ' Tanya ' for Sani or Saturn and ' Tukra ' for the day of Sukra—Friday. It is

noteworthy that the names of the planets, sun, moon, Mars, etc., are the Sanskrit names and not the Tamil ones. They have no temples but consecreate a spot beneath a *nux vomica* tree and worship a deity called ' Kata '. ' Kata ' is like the Tamil word ' Katavul ' (கடவுள்) for God. Sunday is the auspicious day for them. There is enough in the above for an interesting speculation about a possible connexion of the Koraga with the tribes in Kalinga.

Social Ordeal

The Koragas have another interesting custom which recalls the Koya to memory. When a woman is found guilty of adultery, she has to pass through seven huts set on fire before she is purified and becomes fit for readmission into the caste. Apart from the similarity to the Koya, the real significant feature of this ceremony is that the ritual demonstrates Manu's law that seven generations are necessary to correct a lapse from the prescribed rules of endogamous marriage. Yet, Manu was the so-called Aryan and Hindu, and these tribesmen, the submerged race.

Economics

The chief occupation of the Koragas is basket-making. Their general economic condition has already been dealt with under ' General Account '.

CHAPTER IX

TRIBES OF TAMILNAD

1. THE TRIBES OF THE NILGIRIS

The isolation of the Nilgiris is well known. These six or seven hundred square miles with a central altitude of 8,760 feet arise almost abruptly from the plains of Coimbatore. On the north and east they slope down through lesser ranges towards the " Kaveri " chain of hills; on the west to the Kerala uplands through Wynaad which is part of the Nilgiris though included now in the Malabar district. The area was first explored by Englishmen only in 1819. Until then, this favoured region was in the possession of the Toda, Badaga, Kota, Irula and Kurumba.

The Badagas are the largest in number and are the agriculturists. Their name வடக்கன் (vadakkan) indicates they have migrated to these summits from the Kannada country to the north. They are Saivas and speak a dialect of Kannada. They also worship Rangaswami and some minor deities in the ordinary Hindu way. At Hoolikkal they have a temple to Hetti commemorating the *Sati* by the widow of a Badaga of wealth. The relic of *Sati* is now seen in the present Badaga funeral when the widow's robe is thrown on the funeral pyre.

These colonists, being industrious have increased in wealth. Their life however is intimately connected with the life of the Toda, Kota, Kurumba and Irula.

The Todas claim that they were the first on the soil and that the Badagas came and occupied these lands with their permission. The ' gudu ' grain which the Badagas give the Todas is often called a ' tribute ' in recognition of such vassaldom. But the Toda begs it and pays respects to the Badaga, which he will not do, were he the overlord. The Badaga makes gifts of grain to the Kurumba too which is ascribed to a fear of the Kurumba's necromantic powers. Necromancy is suggested in the case of the Toda too. The Badaga pays the Kota in grain and coin for his services.

As it existed prior to European occupation these tribes together furnished the ordinary elements that make up Hindu society. The Badaga was the tiller, the Toda was the dairy-man, the Kota was the artisan and musician and the Kurumba and Irula were the gatherers of forest produce. They appear to have come to the hills at different times and whatever their previons occupation might have been, settled down to the above ones with unparalleled resignation and contentment. The ' bow and arrow ' tradition described under ' Todas ' show that their present pastoral life was adopted by them under some dispensation. Their very polyandry may signify their anxiety to keep the class and its functions pure and

on ordained lines. The relics of another culture seen in the dolmens and cairns found all over the Nilgiris may indicate a previous state of the Todas themselves or a more widespread Kurumba occupation. The unpopularity of the Kurumba with the other tribes, the fear of his necromantic powers, which has often led to murders of the miserable Kurumba by Badaga, Kota and Irula led by the Toda, may indicate the subjugation of the once powerful Kurumba and the animosity which has driven him to the hills. An annual tax of four annas used to be paid to the Kurumba by others. It seems as though there had been an early conflict before these tribes settled down to ordained functions. Whether the one who ordained thus was *En*, the Toda ancestor, his son *Dir Kish* or his son, the herd-god *Belakan* or whether it was *Hiria Deva*, the bell-cow-god at Melur or whether it was a more tangible Ganga King of Talakad, is lost in the usual mists of Indian History.

In dealing with the Nilgiris we must include also the Sholaga and Urali for the resemblance they bear to the Jen Kurumbar and the Irulas respectively.

KOTAS

According to Dr. Oppert, " it seems probable that the Kotas and Todas lived near each other before the settlement of the latter on the Nilgiris. Their dialects betray a great resemblance " According to a tradition of theirs, the Kotas lived formerly on the Kollimalai, a mountain in Mysore (but Kolli is in Salem). The derivation of the name Kota is from the Gauda-Dravida root ' Ko ' or ' Ku ' meaning mountain. The Kotas belong to the Gaudian branch.

In the 1941 census, 952 Kotas were returned from the Nilgiris. They inhabit seven villages, Kotagiri or Peranganad, Kilkotagiri, Mekanad (Kethi), Kundanad, Todanad and Sholur which are all situated on the plateau; the seventh is at Gudalur on the northern slopes of the Nilgiris. A village consists of thirty to sixty detached huts arranged in streets called *Keris*, e.g., Kil-Keri, Mel-Keri, Nadu-Keri. The Keri is an exogamous unit. The hut is of mud, brick and stone and thatch or tiles divided into living and sleeping apartments, with a verandah and pials, and bring to mind the Tamil *house of the plains.* Some huts or forges have carved stones pillars.

The besetting vice of the Kotas is their partiality for drink. They indulge in noisy and turbulent intoxication in an arrack shop. They are looked down upon as unclean feeders and eaters of carrion. Despite its unpleasant nature, the carrion diet evidently agrees with the Kota, who is a hard, sturdy man. He is said to flourish most exceedingly when the hill cattle are dying of an epidemic. They are excellent artisans—blacksmiths, carpenters, rope and umbrella makers—and are indispensable to the other tribes. They also work on gold and silver and the jewellery made

by Kotas are very pretty indeed. The Todas believe that the Kotas were specially brought from the plains to work for them. Each Toda, Irula, Kurumba and Badaga settlement has its ' Muttu Kotas ' who supply them with sundry articles called Muttu in return for carcasses, ghee, grain and plantains. The Kotas eat the flesh of cattle and sell the horns to Labbais from the plains. Chakkilis from the plains collect the bones and the hides, roughly cured by the Kotas themselves with chunnam (lime) and ' Avaram '. Kota blacksmiths make hatchets, bill-hooks, knives, etc., for the hillmen and even for the Hindus and Europeans. Within memory of living men, they used to smelt iron ore brought from the plains. They now depend on scrap iron.

As agriculturists, they are on a par with Badagas. Shifting cultivation or *podu* is called *bhurty* here. Kotas were doing this but this was stopped in 1862-64.

Kotas used to make medicines with the poppy heads cultivated by Badagas. Now they get opium from the bazaar and use it as an intoxicant.

Kota women are timid. They are clad in filthy garments, tattered and torn and not reaching down to the knee even. Women work in the field, collect firewood, etc. They also make baskets and crude earthen pots on a potter's ' wheel ', which is really a disc made of dried mud with an iron spike.

Kota priests are the *Devadi* (or *Terkaran*) and the *Pujari* (or *Muntakannan*). Devadi is a hereditary office and the Pujari is appointed by the Devadi when he is under an inspiration. Devadi is an oracle and gets possessed. On his death some member of the family who gets possessed in the temple succeeds. The Devadi appoints two Pujaris who perform puja. Priests need not be celibates. They marry but avoid their wives and cook for themselves during the festival of ' Kamataraya '. ' Kamataraya ' and ' Kalakai ' are said to be kota editions of Siva and Parvati. At Kolamale there are three temples two to Kamataraya and one to Kalikai.

Kotas go to the temple once a month on full-moon day. They believe that Kamataraya created the Kota, Toda and Kurumba but *not* the Irula. The three were born from three drops of the god's perspiration. The Todas were told to live on milk, the Kurumbas were allowed the flesh of buffalo calves, and the Kotas, on everything; if they could get nothing else, they could eat carrion also.

In recent years, the Kotas have adopted new goddesses ' Magali ' and ' Mariamma ' (cholera and small-pox).

Evans, in 1820, called them Kothewars. English spelling of Indian names has created considerable chaos. This one may bring to mind Kathiawar.

Kota marriage is by consent of the girl who can reject the man after trial on the first night and have no odium attached to her thereby. Widow remarriage is allowed. Monogamy is the rule. A second or third wife is however taken only for the sake of a child

or a son. The wives may live together or separately. Divorce is allowed for incompatibility, drunkenness or immorality or for being of no use as a help mate at home or in the field. It is granted by panchayat.

The panchayat settles also cases of theft, assault and other minor offences. In cases not capable of being settled by the panchayat of one village, a council of delegates from all the seven villages decides. A *Pittakar*, probably *Pita* (पीठा பீடம்), headman, gives the decision. The Kotas have special maternity wards called *Vollugudi*, a permanent structure with two apartments, one for lying-in and the other for the staying-out during menses. There are professional Kota midwives.

The baby is fed on departure from *Vollugudi* with rice boiled in a specially made pot on fire of a particular jungle wood. The name of the baby is chosen by the father but the ' christening ' is done by the ' Keri ' headman. The usual Hindu purification with cow-dung-water before entering the house is done.

Komuttam is a common male name and *Madi* for girls.

The Kotas have a custom of placing a gold coin called *Viraya panam* in the mouth of the dying person at the point of death. They kill a male buffalo at the funeral. They carry what is called a *Teru* in front of the bier when they march to the cremation ground. Similar paraphernalia are noticed among some castes of the plains. A cow is also killed during the funeral ceremonies.

The Kamataraya festival commencing on the first Monday after the January new moon lasts for a fortnight. It is a continuous scene of licentiousness and debauchery. The chief Badagas must attend as etiquette.

The Kota band consists of clarionet, drum, tambourine, brass horn and the *buguri* which is the ' Toda flute '.

They used to make fire with a hard fire-drill made of twigs of the *baiga* tree. Kotas have their in-door and out-door games, very much like the ones in vogue in the plains.

When a Toda is met, the Kota kneels and raises the Toda's feet to his head. The Kurumbar also respect the Toda but they only bend forward and the Toda places his hand on their head. Irula also does similarly.

The Kota supplies axes, mamuties, knives, etc., and also the band to the Toda free, but he is entitled to the carcasses, horns and hides of animals belongings to Todas.

TODAS

The Toda is the aristocrat of the *Blue Mountains*. He has been the subject of much speculation. It is not certain when this tribe first appeared on the Nilgiris. European writers have always been enthusiastic about them and even suggested a Celtic origin or association for the Toda.

According to the 1941 Census, 630 Todas (342 males and 288 females) were inhabiting the Nilgiris. The preponderance of males over females was in earlier days attributed to female infanticide. But, it continues even now.

The typical Toda is above medium height, well-proportioned and stalwart with straight nose, regular features and perfect teeth. The *put-kuli* is his chief garment and is of thick cotton cloth with red and blue strips; it is thrown around the body by men and women somewhat like a Roman *toga*. The Toda looked stately enough to the first Englishman to be reminiscent of the ancient Roman. A closer examination showed the difference between the *put-kuli* and the *toga* and the Todas had other than Roman features. The Druids of Britain came to mind then and these long lost kinsmen and kinswomen became more than mere academic diversions for many a Britisher. The result has been disastrous to the Toda as is stated in the following sentences by Dr. Shortt in 1868; " Most of their women have been debauched by Europeans who, it is sad to observe, have introduced diseases to which these innocent tribes were at one time perfect strangers and which, as they have no means of curing, are slowly but no less surely sapping their once hardy and vigorous constitutions. The effects of intemperance and syphilis are becoming more and more apparent in the shaken and decrepit appearance which at the present day these tribes generally present ".

It has been said that the name Toda is a corruption of *Koda. Kodavar*—mountainers—seems a fit name for the inhabitants of the Nilgiris but the Toda scoffs at that name. There is a division of the Nilgiris called Kodanad, but this is situated in the eastern parts of the district where it may more justifiably be associated with the Kotas. Again, although living in a mountainous district, the Todas are a pastoral community and have nothing of mountaineers in them. The *tud* tree (*Meliosma simplicifolia*) is the sacred tree of this tribe and important for almost everything. The Toda calls himself actually *Tuda* and the Tamils call him ' Tudavan '. The Todas claim they were the first on the Nilgiri soil.

" Clothed and without arms, they live a simple pastoral life." This is how they have been described. They are really so now. The dairy is their temple. The *Palal*, the dairy-man and a large-horned race of semi-domesticated buffaloes are the most sacred things to a Toda. Butter and ghee is what they depend on. They are strictly vegetarian. But, a certain ritual performed in the seventh month of pregnancy indicates an earlier stage when the tribe must have carried arms. In this ritual, the husband leads the wife to a forest, makes a bow and an arrow with a twig and grass. The wife places a lamp at the foot of some tree and kneeling before it receives the bow and arrow from the husband saluting it by lowering her head. Receiving it, she asks " What is the name of your bow "? The husband mentions the name which is the name of his clan. Question and answer are repeated three

times. The wife then deposits the bow and arrow at the foot of the tree. The pair remains all night under the tree and eat the evening meal and the next morning's meal there before returning home. Weapons are also exhibited at weddings and funerals.

The language of the Todas is definitely connected with Tamil rather than with Kannada. Advocates of Turanian descent have attempted to trace a home in the Kannada country for the Todas prior to their advent on the Nilgiris. The reason for considering the Toda as non-indigenous to these hills appears to be the discovery of certain cairns and dolmens which the modern Toda does not own. It is surmised that another race now extinct had been on the hills before the Todas came. But it has been noticed that the Toda funeral ceremonies are very similar to what this extinct race might have practised as seen from the relics in the cairns and dolmens. It seems more likely that there was a thorough change in the Toda at some stage in history when he gave up arms, agriculture and other occupations and contented himself with his buffaloes and his *Tirieri* or dairy-temple. The Boath or Boa often called the Toda Cathedral is again a subject for speculation. Some writers have thought that the Boaths were built by the extinct race. Through centuries of pastoral life the Toda has forgotten his own history.

The Toda village is called a *mand*. The name itself means a herd or a cattle-pen (Tamil, *Manthai*—மந்தை). It is usually a collection of three huts each 18 feet by 9 feet by 10 feet high with a small doorway measuring only 32 inches by 18 inches. Entrance may be effected only on all fours. Besides the three huts the *mand* has another hut slightly larger but with a smaller doorway which is the Tirieri or dairy temple, *lactarium*, as some writers call it. In the vicinity of the *mand* is the cattle-pen called *tuel* which is a circular enclosure within a loose stone wall. The large herd of buffaloes of the mand are penned here for the night.

The *Tirieri* is the sum and substance of Toda life. It is also called *palchi*. It is managed by the *Palals*. A Toda, before he becomes a *Palal* must obtain the sanction of the Toda panchayat. Even when he resigns the panchayat should permit him. A *Palal* has to observe *Brahmacharya*. If a married man, he keeps away from his wife who is looked after by his brother. In the initiation ceremony of a *Palal* the juice of the *tud* tree plays an important part. The juice is drunk during the vigil of two or three days in a forest, which the candidate should perform before assuming office and the juice is also poured on the black cloth—the distinguishing garb of the *Palal*. There is a maximum period of ten or twelve years for which a *Palal* may serve as such.

The *Palal* is assisted by *Kaltamaks*, boys between eight and ten years of age. They are also initiated with a vigil in the forest and the *tud* juice for a day. Inside the *Tirieri*, the *Kaltamak* must go naked except in his own apartment. '*Kaltamak*' means '*watching son*' (காக்கும் மகன்).

The *Tirieri* consists of a dwelling hut for the *Palals* (there may be more than one), a separate hut for *Kaltamaks*, a large and a small cattle-pen, and a dairy portion which is the temple where the sacred bell and dairy appliances are kept. No one but *Palals* and *Kaltamaks* may go into a *Tirieri*. There is a " bell-cow " in every herd which carries the sacred bell during the periodical migrations from one pasture to another. It is very sacred. The office of the " bell-cow " is hereditary. The calf succeeds the mother in the event of her death. If the " bell-cow " dies issueless, adoption is done from another *Tirieri*. The herd itself is an object of worship.

Apart from the *Tiricris*, at the Kandal and Tarnat *mands*, there are dairy-temples called by other names. At Kandal, there are two called *Kuruputi* and *Orzhalli*. At Tarnat, there are three called *Kokvelli*, *Tarveli* and *Orzhalli*. The priest at these temples are called *Karpal* or *Guardian* and indicated with the names of the temples as *Karupuli Karpal* or *Tarveli Karpal*. The priest of *Orzhalli* is called *Orshal*.

In addition to these *Tiricris* and *Palchis* there is the *Boath* or *Boa*. There are four of this at each of the following places—Muttanad Mand, Kotagiri, Sholur and Mudimand. This has been compared to the *bothan* or beehive houses in Scotland and similar buildings in the Sinai peninsula at Suez. It is a circular stone edifice 25 or 30 feet high with a thatched roof. It is also used as a dairy temple but the priest is called *Verzhal*.

The Todas cremate their dead and dispose of the ashes in a manner suggestive of some past connection with the cairns above mentioned. During a Toda cremation of a man, a bow and arrow obtained from the Kota, a walking stick, rice, jaggery, honey, coconut, plantains, tobacco and a bamboo *khandi* (measure) and some cowries (representing money) are also cremated. Bags of rupees are also placed nowadays but removed before the pyre is lit. In the case of a woman, cooking utensils, jewelry, cooked food, thread and cowries are burnt along with the corpse. The remains of gold and silver are recovered from the ashes.

They call God by the Tamil name கடவுள் (kadavul). They also venerate the rising sun and the moon. They conceive of a heaven which they call *Amnad* (அம்நாடு). They generally point to above the Markurti peak to show the heavens. They have a *Vytarini* in their mythology which can be crossed only by a thread.

The first Toda was called *En*. He had a son Dirkish whose son was Betakan. The Todas worship Betakan in his *Koil* at Nambalakod in Wynaad. Hiria Deva, the bell-cow-god, has a temple at Melur. Apart from these local gods, the Todas also make pilgrimage to Nanjangud and Karamadai, two famous Hindu shrines.

Once in four or five years, or even annually, a buffalo sacrifice is made when a calf is killed by the *Vorshal* or *Pali Karpal* with a *tud* stick. This rite is called *Kona Sastra* which means *eastern Sastra*, perhaps, an imitation of the Ur Devaras in the eastern plains.

The Todas are divided into five clans, *Kenna, Kuttan, Peiki, Pekkan* and *Todi*. Inter-marriage between some of them is strictly forbidden. The *Palals* and *Kaltamaks* come from the Peiki clan who seem to be superior to others. The Peikis are called *Tertals*—தேர்த்தாள் or தேர்ந்த ஆள் (superior) and the rest are called *Tartal*—தார்த்தாள் or தாழ்ந்த ஆள் (inferior).

The ordinary Toda shows respect to a Palal by adjusting the put-kuli so as to leave the arms bare and removing any head gear. A Toda pays homage to a Badaga by bending forward when he meets him, when the Badaga places his hand on the Toda's head. All the same, the Toda claims to have been the first on the soil and the Badaga, for this reason, is said to pay a tribute of grain to the Toda, called '*Gudu*'. Some say that the Badaga does this to humour the Todas whose necromantic powers he fears.

The Todas have similar fears of the Kurumbas though the Kurumba makes the same obeisance to him as the Toda does to a Badaga. As for a Kota, he kneels before a Toda and raises the Toda's feet to his head. An Irula has the same status as the Kurumba with reference to the Toda.

The one remarkable fact about this tribe is the consistent small number of females resulting in a diminishing population. In early days this was attributed to female infanticide. Polyandry prevails and is perhaps the tribe's device for overcoming the shortage of women as well as for preserving the tribal unity. The mand is like a joint family in which cattle, and women are the property that is jointly owned. Marriage as an institution still prevails but it is the union with the first husband that is celebrated. His brothers automatically gain a share and even others may purchase an interest. The curious custom is mentioned of a girl after puberty being tested for her fitness to enter married state by some strong man of the community who, after the trial, may or may not marry her. The corporate sense of the tribe seems to prevail over individual acquisitiveness even in matters sexual.

Like the Koya and others already seen, mendacity in the Toda is frequently noticed. Near about Ootacamund, he is a degraded specimen always asking for alms. The early European sight-seers were evidently amused over inviting the Todas to come and ask 'inam kudu', but the amusement has cost the community its self-respect.

A few Todas have been schooling. They are taught the three "R's" in the usual way and the schooling has done them little good. A Christian mission has been working in their midst and a small number of them have become Christians, and a handful are in Government service.

Pasture is all that the Toda wants. The European planters were able to get the lands alienated easily from the ignorant Toda. Government, on seeing this, first compensated the Todas with a payment of Rs. 150 per annum, which evidently they had to beg at the Taluk offices. Ultimately each *Mand* and *Tirieri* was allowed some lands which again Government took over under their management to protect the Toda from further alienation. The Toda is now more or less maintained as a specimen for anthropological studies and as a show for sight-seers visiting the Nilgiris.

IRULAR

For an account of this tribe, please see 'Irulas' under the "Tribes of Malabar."

KURUMBAR

There is a confusion of names in regard to this tribe. Three names are recorded—Kuruman, Kurumban and Kuruban. Kuruba is the name of the large shepherd community on the Karnataka plateau, who are seen in the Tamil and Telugu districts also. They speak Kannada. In Mysore itself, these Kurubas are divided into Uru or village Kurubar and the Kadu Kurubar of forest Kurubas. These Kadu Kurubas are again divided into two classes. The 'Betta' or hill Kurubar are a small active people, capable of great fatigue and experts at forest work. They have the subdivision *Ane* (elephant), *Bevina* (nim tree) and *Kolli* (fire brand). The Jenu or Jen or Ten Kuruba is darker and inferior. They collect, as the name indicates, honey and bees-wax.

The Jenu and the Betta Kurumbar have their homes in Wynaad, Nilgiris and the adjoining Mysore hills. The Betta Kurumba is called in Malayalam *Urali*.

In the 1901 census, a tribe called Kolayan was returned from North Malabar and Kasaragod of South Kanara districts. They were declared to be the same as Urali and their traditional occupation was tending cows which is true to the tribe's name. *Kol* means a stick; *Ayan* is a cow-herd. They are now brick-layers and masons in North Malabar and masonry work in temples is done by them.

Uralis, the cousins of the Sholagas, call themselves Irulas and the Irulas in the Attappadi are said to be excellent cattlemen. The Sholaga has points that bring him close to the Jen Kurumbar. The Jen Kurumbar are called Kattunayakans in the Begur area. They are also called Sholanayakans.

If then, the Kurumbar and Irular could be connected through the Urali and the Kol-Ayan, it will signify the same origin to the Irula also, not merely the Irula of this area but those of the East Coast too.

It has been suggested that the Kurumbar may be the remnant of a widespread race which erected the dolmens and cairns seen in these districts. It should be noted that the Kurubar of the plains, in some places, erect dolmens even to-day. As for being widespread who could spread more than the Kurumborais—the Pallavas—who ruled from Vizagapatam to Cape Comorin with a splendour and a vigour not eclipsed by any other empire in India? So, it may be that the Kurumbar are the descendants of the Pallava Kurumborai.

The census figures in respect of these tribes are very indecisive and confusing owing to the different names used. About this we have dealt with under the 'Kurumbars' of Malabar also. In 1881, 3,673 Kurumbars were returned from Malabar only. In 1891, the same name was returned from Malabar and Nilgiris as 12,891 (6,802 males plus 6,089 females) for Malabar and 3,966 (2,192 males plus 1,774 females) for Nilgiris. Evidently the Malabar enumeration improved or there had been a migration of Kadu Kurumbar from Mysore and Coorg. From 1901 to 1931 Malabar returned some 10,000 at each census. In 1941, however, a difference has been made between Kuruban and Kuruman. In Malabar 4,047 were enumerated as Kurubas and none under the name 'Kuruman'. In Nilgiris 889 were shown as Kurubas and 2,244 as Kuruman. Even this is doubtful for, in 1937, a report says that there were 1,300 Kurumbar in the Pandalur firka of the Gudalur taluk of the Nilgiris district. Separate figures for the Mulla, Jen and Betta sections are not available.

According to the Collector's report in G.O. No. 1988, Public (Political), dated 20th October 1937, Sholanayakans were about 350 in number in the Nilgiris and were living in the jungles and Pandalur firka of Gudalur taluk. They were mostly coolies in the estates and under Chetties. But these Sholanayakans are probably Jen Kurumbar.

The Jen or Ten Kurumbar speak a patois of Tamil with an admixture of Kannada and even some Telugu. The Kurumba forester calling the tribesmen to collect shouted 'ella vara nittagu' where 'ittagu' sounds Telugu. They are darker than the Betta Kurumbar and are said to be inferior to them in the social scale. They live in small detached huts in the interiors of jungles. They have a *chavadi* for unmarried girls and another for unmarried adult males. The latter is called *Punduqar chavadi*, *Pundugar* meaning vagabond. They have headmen called *Mudali* and worship 'Masti'. In the estates, they are given a site for huts. A collection of Kurumba huts in the Nilgiris, usually four or five huts of wattle and mud, is called a *Mottam*. In Wynaad, they call it *Padi* or *Hadi* (Kannada). They use large oval baskets for storing grains and gourds as water bottles. The male dress is a woollen cumbli or coarse cloth; the female dress is a *sari* of coarse cloth worn in the plains fashion. The Jen Kurumba shaves his head and wears a tuft behind.

PLATE IX

FIG. 1.—KOTAS, THE ARTISAN TRIBE OF THE NILGIRIS

FIG. 1.—A GROUP OF TODA HUTS OR MAND IN THE NILGIRIS

FIG. 2.—A TODA MAN, ONE OF THE PASTORAL TRIBES OF THE NILGIRIS

They subsist on honey, bamboo seed, edible roots, etc. Those in Wynaad work in the coffee, pepper and orange plantations. The estates are supposed to allow the Kurumbar some land for paddy cultivation near their habitation, but they are inconsiderable bits within 25 yards of the *padi*. Honey and roots are said to be their staple food during the season when they are available. They are said to prefer them to cereals but the real reason seems to be that the rations at the estates are insufficient. They eat bison's flesh.

The Betta Kurumbar are a small active people capable of hard work. They are said to be expert woodmen. They are good *mahouts* and useful at *keddah* operations. The Betta Kurumba does not shave his head but brings it on to the top of his head in a knot. The Betta women wear the *sari* somewhat in the Coorg fashion.

They speak a patois of Kannada with an admixture of low Tamil.

They worship the sylvan deities Narali and Mastamma. Their huts are rude and a group of them is called *hadi*. They eat flesh and drink liquor, a favourite beverage made from ragi flour. They do not eat the bison's flesh. They would not touch leather nor wear shoes and do not permit anyone to enter their huts with shoes on. They take food only from the high castes. They have privileges in temples.

They bury their dead, if children, and cremate, if adults.

They are said to be very revengeful but, if kindly treated, they do willing service. They are poor and miserably fed and clothed. They use broken glass as a razor.

The Betta and Jen Kurumbar do not mix with each other though they live close to each other.

These tribes generally work for three kinds of masters, the local landlords, the forest department and the estates of planters. They indulge in shifting cultivation when possible.

In the Begur forests of Wynaad, 2,000 acres out of the total of 50,000 acres are eminently fit for wet cultivation. The Kurumbar live here and, if these lands are given to them, they promise to settle down in a *pucca* village and cultivate, and also attend to forest work.

Engagement for marriage among the Kurumbar is done before puberty. The son-in-law-elect works for the girl's parents until she attains age after which he walks away with her. There is no marriage rite.

The Jen Kurumbar punish adultery with flogging. A woman who prefers another to her husband is called a *kutiga*; the same name is applied to a widow who indulges in casual enjoyment. Children are never illegitimate to whomsoever born.

They have Saiva Jangams as Gurus and worship Siva. They also worship a deity called Kuriballaraya, interpreted usually as 'lord of many sheep'. Perhaps, it refers to some ancestral Kurumborai.

On the Nilgiris, Jen Kurumbar and Sholagar collect honey. They have a very keen eye that can follow a discharged bullet and a very keen hearing, but the keenness is only as far as exigencies of his life are concerned. His visual acuity is not otherwise greater than normal.

SHOLAGAS and URALIS

"They speak a bad or old dialect of Kannada language, have scarcely any clothing, sleep round a fire on a few plantain leaves using the same to cover themselves. They live chiefly on summits of mountains where the tigers do not frequent. Their huts are most wretched—bamboo bent and both ends stuck in to form an arch and covered with plantain leaves"—This is how Buchanan (1807) described this tribe.

The up-to-date Sholaga who inhabits the jungles between Dimbhum and Kollegal is clad in a cotton loin cloth supplemented by a coat and smears himself with ashes after the Saiva fashion.

Tradition says that in days of yore there were two brothers in the Geddesale Hills, Karayya and Billayya or Madheswara. The Uralis and Sholagas are descendants of Karayya and the Lingayats of Madheswara or Billayya. A Rakshasa—Savanan—captured both and made Karayya a shepherd, ill-treated Madheswara and ordered him to make a pair of slippers. Madheswara sought Krishna's help. That wily god taught him to make waxen shoes wearing which Savanan was invited to climb up a rock previously heated by fire by Madheswara. The wax melted; Savanan died. Karayya got angry that Madheswara had done this treachery without his knowledge and pursued him, and finally pardoned him on condition that first offerings during any worship are made to him. To this day, Sivacharis at Madheswaranmalai offer first to Karayya before worshipping Madheswara.

The Sholagas are in five septs, Chalikiri, Teneru, Belleri, Surya and Aleru.

There is a *Yejamana* (எஜமானன்) assisted by a *Pattagara.* The *Chalavati* is the village servant, and the functionaries belong, as a rule, to the Chalikiri, Teneru and Surya septs respectively.

The staple food is ragi paste. Sholagas and Uralis collect forest produce. On the Nilgiris, Jen Kurumbar and Sholagas collect honey. It is said that even wild beasts will scent a Sholaga and flee before the aroma.

Sholagas inhabit the depths of the forests at the foot and on the slopes of the Biligiri Rangan Hills. They are also employed as farm coolies and for tending cattle by plainsmen.

Uralis dwell at an altitude of 1,800 feet in the jungles of Dimbhum in Coimbatore. They are familiar with Badagas who have a settlement not many miles away, with the Todas who occasionally migrate across the Nilgiri frontier in search of grazing land, and also with the Kurumbar and Irulas who live on the lower slopes of Nilgiris. With the civilized world they are familiar as they carry loads down to the plains at Satyamangalam, only 17 miles away.

Like Badagas, they wear a turban and long flowing body cloth, and shave their head and wear a tuft. The making of fire with flint and steel was the old habit. Matches are now used.

Uralis claim to be children of Billayya and to have seven *kulams* (while the Sholagas, the children of Karayya, are of five *kulams*). They call themselves Uralis or Irulas. They say that as Billayya and Karayya were brothers they may also be called Sholagas. But there is no inter-marriage between Uralis and Sholagas.

They speak a mixture of Tamil and Kannada and have a number of exogamous septs. Their livelihood is by collection of minor forest produce. Some till and cultivate various foodgrains, while others own sheep and cattle. A few families own land given free by the Forest Department in lieu of their services to that department.

They are not hard working; they get indebted to Chetties. Their staple food is ragi. They eat all flesh including black monkeys but abhor beef, cats, toads, bears and white monkeys.

The headman is called 'Yejamana' who must belong to the exogamous sept *Sambe*. To assist him three others, *Pattagara*, *Gowda* and *Kolkara*, belonging to *Kolkatti*, *Kolakara* and *Kuri-nanga* septs are appointed. The *Kolkara* has to invite the panchayat, collect the fines and be present at marriages. He is the executive officer and the *Kol* or stick is perhaps the symbol of authority.

Marriage is performed by the tying of the *tali*. Bride-money is paid. The parents of the boy have to propose. *Kuduvali* is an informal union achieved through elopement into the jungle until discovery. The marriage is ratified by a panchayat and the bride-money and fine are imposed.

They bury their dead. They sacrifice sheep and goats to *Pal-rayan*—Milk-king—a pastoral god. They observe *Tai Nonbu* (தைந் நோன்பு) which is *Pongal* and *Vyasi*, probably, the Tamil New Year. Cattle are given salt water in the *Vyasi* festival.

In the 1941 census, 3,724 Sholagas from Coimbatore, 554 from the Nilgiris and 24 from Trichinopoly were returned.

In Coimbatore district, the Forest Department has formed five settlements for them in the Kollegal taluk. Lands were given to them, free of assessment, in the reserve forest and about 400 acres of land are under cultivation. In the two forest divisions of North and South Coimbatore, the Department has leased land to

about 61 family groups under darkhast rules. Some 170 acres in the Gobichettipalayam taluk and 15 acres in the Kollegal taluk have also been given to them. Malaria is the curse of the place and should be eradicated.

2. THE TRIBES OF THE ANAMALAIS

The Anamalais or ' Elephant Hills ' lie to the south of Pollachi and Udamalpet taluks of Coimbatore district. They are a continuation of a huge range (the Cardamom Hills) which runs through Travancore and are also connected with the Palni Hills of the Madura district. They are bounded on the west by the Cochin and Kollengode Hills and on the south and east by the Travancore and Palni Hills. The main range runs from south-east to north-west. The well-known Torakadavu Valley lies to the east of this range. The Vadamalaiaru, the Sholaiaru, the Palakadavu stream and the Torakadavu stream are the chief rivers and they all flow westwards towards Cochin. The Torakadavu stream is joined by the Palar past the Anamalai village—the Palar rises on the eastern slopes of the secondary eastern range of the main range. The Torakadavu stream is called Aliyar after Poonachi where it makes a waterfall (300 feet). The Amaravati, an important tributary of the Cauvery, rises in the Anjanadu Valley above Anamalais in Travancore Hills and is fed by important feeder streams from the Anamalai Hills. It may here be mentioned that the Anjanadu Valley is geographically part of the Madras side of these hills. The hills are divided into upper and lower ranges. Peaks on the upper ranges, or some of them, are higher than 8,000 feet above sea level and plateaus exist over 7,000 feet. These plateaus are connected with similar ones in Travancore territory. The plateau region in the upper ranges of the Anamalais are estimated to make an area of nearly 100 square miles. They contain magnificent scenery and mighty chasms divide one plateau from another. Dark ever-green forests are seen in vivid contrasts with rolling downs. Much valuable timber exists in these forests. But the working of these forests appears difficult. They, however, serve to preserve the water-shed above described. The products of these ranges include also cardamoms, dammar, honey, bees' wax, turmeric and ginger. The lower ranges contain excellent teak, at an altitude of 1,500 to 3,000 feet. Near Palakadavu river, these trees have grown to wonderful sizes, the record being a tree cut in Tekkadi forest which was 124 feet high and 23 feet in girth, yielded five to six hundred cubic feet of workable timber. These forests are known to have supplied timber to the Bombay Dock Yard in olden days. The value of these forests had been realized quite early. Apart from the forests, the Anamalais are also famous for the plantations.

The hills had not obviously escaped the eye of the early rulers of Tamilnad; the Cholas had built the Shiva temple at the village

in Anamalai Hills and also the old Fort is there. Subsequent rulers have paid similar attention. On the Cochin side of these hills are found some ruined temples with Tamil inscriptions in the "*Kol-ezhuthu*" and "*Vattezhuthu*" (கோலெழுத்து & வட்டெழுத்து) scripts and other edifices indicating that these places were once receiving greater attention from plainsmen. Later inscriptions in Malayalam also are prominent. During some period, however, the hills, and the tribes who were living there, seem to have lost touch of plainsmen except from the Cochin side.

There are, on the Anamalais, four different tribes, Muduvar, Kadar, Malasar and Pulayar. A recent estimate claims that there are about 2,000 families of these tribes on the hills. It is, however, difficult to give a correct idea of the population here, for, the tribes, chiefly the Malasars and Muduvars, keep on the move from these hills into the neighbouring Travancore and Cochin hills. The census figures regarding these tribes have, therefore, been very uncertain.

Although their fortunes have been cast together on these hills and although they may now make a common cry against exploitation by planters and others, these tribes, in their origin, appear to have been different from one another. They, however, have a common cause which is their right to be restored to their possession of the resources of Anamalais whoever else is allowed to share them equitably and justly with them.

PULAYARS

The Pulayars have been aptly described by the phrase "the Pulayan of the wild looks." They are met with even on the slopes of the Anamalais as we ascend from Udamalpet. Early writers have remarked on the enormous length of their hair. The Pulayar would not cut it but arrange it into six or eight plaited coils gathered into one single lock at the back of the head. It is said that a Pulaya 5 feet 10 inches in height had hair trailing a foot on the ground. Some dandies of the tribe would wear their hair in large bunches at the sides bound round the forehead with a small brass chain. Some, however, are said to have taken no pride whatever in their hair and had them standing out in a dishevelled fashion like savages. The dress of the Pulaya is similar to that of a plainsman. Generally, they are dressed in dirty rags. A few well-to-do can afford even a turban. Their village consists of scattered huts built with bamboo and thatched with grass. They usually have *pandals* in front of their houses. They also build temporary huts while they are on the move.

The Pulayars are not particular as to what they eat. They eat all animal food, and rats are favourite dishes. They have ingenious traps made with bamboo and string for catching the rats, jungle fowls and other birds. Their economic condition is very bad. They are slave-like in their habits, and are generally mostly useful

in carrying loads up the hills. Some of them possess guns and shoot pigs, etc. The Pulayars eat bison also.

MALASARS

Malasars are also known as 'Malayar' or 'Malai Arasar (மலை அரசர்). They speak a patois of Tamil and follow *makkattayam*. *Menarikam* is popular with them. Their headmen are called *Mooppans*. They work as agricultural labourers and forest coolies. They are good at catching and training elephants. In the census of 1941, they numbered 8,441 in Coimbatore district and 2,161 in Malabar district, totalling 10,602. These figures are very much higher than the returns in the previous decenniums. As stated already, this tribe must have migrated in such a way that increase may be due to the advent of large batches from the neighbouring Cochin and Travancore territory. The Malasars are said to be quite different in character from the slave-like Pulaya. The Malasars are divided into Nattu Malayans and Kongu Malayans.

The Malasars live at a much lower elevation than Kadar. They are found almost down on the plains and along the slopes near the foot of the hills. They are somewhat sturdier in build but have not the characteristic features of regular hillmen. As coolies they are not dependable and are said to desert *en masse* on the smallest excuse. They are excellent axemen and indispensable as baggage coolies. They carry loads on their heads unlike the Kadar and Pulayar who will strap their luggage on to their backs. There are three grades of Malasars according to the region in which they live, viz., (1) Malai Malasars in the Mount Stuart region; (2) those on the slopes; and (3) those on the plains. Malasars are said to commit dacoities when there is a chance. Kadars and Eravalars are sometimes admitted into the Malasar caste.

A Malasar settlement is called *padi* or *pati*. It consists of twenty or thirty huts. The streets are called *chalais* (சாலை). The *padis* are named after the owners of the land, e.g., *Sarkar padi* or *Karuppa Goundan padi*. A landlord usually keeps under him a number of Malasars to whom he gives land free of rent for raising food crops. In return they must work in their fields and do other services for the landlord who is called a *Mannadi*. The Malasars are proverbially lazy; they will take a week's wages in advance and drink it away. The Malayan huts are characteristic and roofed with bamboo and leaves. The hut is raised high on clumps of bamboos over which planks are spread to make the flooring. A thick and firm mud coating covers the planks. Planks are used as walls and for roofing also. A single bamboo with knots serves as steps for climbing on to the hut. The hut is so designed as a precaution against wild animals. Sometimes, the huts are built on tree tops too. The danger of wild animals appear to be real; the Malasars always keep the bow and a few arrows in fire

ready for use against them. They are now taking to permanent huts in the forests. A staff and a knife in the girdle are the Malasars' usual weapons, with, sometimes, bows and arrows, too.

The Malasars marry off their girls before puberty. The marriage usually takes place after the tenth year. The parents choose the husband. The betrothal is signified by the tying of a *Manjakkuyiru* (மஞ்சக்கயிறு) round the bride's neck by the prospective mother-in-law. The marriage takes place in the bridegroom's house. The husband's party goes to the bride's house with the wedding saree, *koorai pudavai* (கூறை புடவை) and, after being entertained, they fetch the bride over with her people for the wedding. The bride's parents hand over the girl and depart after an entertainment. In cases of misconduct by a wife, the village assembly meets and, on finding the woman guilty, sentences her to flogging after which she is sent off to her parents. The husband will not take her back, but another man may marry her. Widow re-marriage is allowed, but the widow must marry outside the clan and the village of her deceased husband.

The gods worshipped are "Veerabhadran" and "Bhadrakali", represented by heaps of stones under a tree. Pooja for a *mandalam* (மண்டலம்—45 days) from the 1st of *Karthigai* (கார்த்திகை) to the 15th of *Marghazi* (மார்கழி) is performed. Sheep and fowls are offered. "Mallan" is another deity worshipped with a view to ward off elephants and tigers. They observe *Sankaranthi* (Pongal), *Vishu* and *Onam* as auspicious days. The Malasar's belief in spirits is from a social point of view, a very useful superstition. A Malasar will not injure another for fear that his spirit may injure him. The belief is that each one has some spirits at his or her command. The common names adopted by the Nattu Malayans are "Raman", "Aiyappan", "Velayudhan", "Kochi", "Madi" and "Lakshmi." The Nattu Malayans appear to have been longer in touch with the Kerala borders than the Kongu Malayans since they follow the *marumakkattayam* law of inheritance unlike the latter who, as stated at the outset, have adopted the *makkattayam system*. Polygamy is allowed, but not polyandry. A separate hut is usually reserved for confinement. Pollution is observed for 15 days. They are divided into clans named after the forests they occupy or some ancestor who occupied it. An image of an ancestor is often worshipped. The Nattu Malayans claim descent from "Shiva" and "Parvati" who came down as hunters to grant the *Pasupata* (பாசுபதம்) to Arjuna. Sometimes allusion is made also to "Surpanaka" of the Ramayana and the descent from her. But the Malayans believe that they are "Nayars" living on the hills and attribute their present degradation to their women having fallen in the past and indulged in intercourse with low-caste men in the plains.

The Kongu Malayan who is found alongside of the Nattu Malayan claims to have come from 'Kongu Mandalam' (கொங்கு மண்டலம்) They are perhaps connected with the Malaiyalis of Shevaroys or Kollis who were driven up from the plains during some

political upheaval. In appearance, the Nattu Malasars are dark brown, and short in stature. Their face becomes pointed towards the chin. They are strong and healthy, gentle, submissive and trustworthy. They part their hair in the middle and knot it at the back. Even persons over fifty years of age are not gray-haired. The women are good-looking. The Kongu Malasars are as tall as Nattu Malasars and taller than Kadars. They are dark in colour and show a tendency to a flat nose and thick lips. This has been attributed to admixture with Kadars, but it must be remembered that the Malayalis of Shevaroys also show this tendency which he must have acquired from the Irula whom he replaced on these hills. The Kongu Malasars wear a *veshti* (வேஷ்டி) with a *kacham* (கச்சம்) and an upper cloth or cumbly on the shoulders. They are dirty. Their women are dark and lean. They wear brass and palm leaf rolls in their ears, brass-bead necklace and *metti* on their second toe. At an oil bath, they use clay and cow dung (as a substitute for soapnut powder). They dress somewhat like the Kadar women. They do not look cheerful but look poor and timid. They have exogamous septs; they follow the usual *menarikam*. Marriages are arranged by parents whilst the boy and girl are young and this betrothal is a definite affair in the life of the girl, for, if the boy dies, the girl has difficulty in marriage. Payment of bride-price is usual. Soon after marriage the couple live in a separate hut on their own labour, a custom common amongst the Goundans of Kongu Nadu. The elder sons walk out this way; but they contribute to their parents' maintenance when the latter are no longer able to work. The naming of a child is done in the third month, by the *Pujari* who gets inspired into an oracle—*Velichapadu*—and announces the name. Common names are Mallan, Moopan, Karuppan, Tamman, Chadayan, Velli, Pidari, Karumala and Kali for males and Arasi, Malli, Kathi, Mayal, Chettichi and Nayithi for females.

The headman, Mooppan, prescribes the work to be done on the landlord's fields and hears complaints, and presides at marriage festivals. He has to look after the welfare of the community.

The Kongu Malayars worship a number of animist gods, viz.. Ballambara Andan, Karumala Mooppan, Nayithi Athal, Manakkadamman, Kali and Paliamma. There is a *Pujari* for every *padi*.

They bury their dead and toddy is freely used during funerals.

They are said to be somewhat addicted to stealing, robbing and burglary. Their occupations are agricultural labour and woodcutting; and also collection of forest produce. The forest area is divided up amongst the villages and poaching in another's area is never done. In fact, if a beehive or its wax bears the impression of another man having spotted it, a Malasar will not touch it. This resembles the sense prevailing in Hindu villages in the plains when a woman setting out for dung collection will not touch droppings bearing the mark of another's foot—a queue sense by which the first one to notice the dropping reserves the right to it by just

pushing it slightly to a side with her foot and picking it up later at her leisure.

They are excellent trackers and clever at trapping hare and deer. They dam up the streams in hot weather for collection of fish which they supply by throwing into the water some vegetable poisoning material.

Greater part of their food is a wild yam. They secure rice by selling or exchanging their collections. Samai, tinai and kambu are used for gruel. The greatest delicacy with which they welcome high caste folk is the bamboo seed boiled in honey inside a hollow bamboo plastered with mud and placed on fire. The bamboo splits and outcomes a cylindrical mass of sweet stuff. They eat carcasses left over by tigers. In addition to the deer and the ibex they eat bison flesh also. They abstain from the flesh of the cow, dog, tiger and elephant.

MUDUVARS or MUDUGARS

The Muduvars or Mudugars are a tribe of hill cultivators in Coimbatore, Madura, Malabar and Travancore. The name is spelt Muduvar in English but, in Tamil, pronounced " Muthuvar " or " Muthuvanal." Outsiders call this tribe *Tagappanmargal* (தகப்பன்மார்கள்) meaning fathers (a title used by low castes to masters). The Muduvars have a dialect of their own, of Tamil with a few Malayalam words.

Men's names are the usual Hindu god's names but *Kanjan* (கஞ்சன்) meaning dry or stingy, *Karuppukunji* (கருப்புக்குஞ்சி) black chick, *Kunjitu* (குஞ்சிது) chicken, *Karmegham* (கார்மேகம்) black cloud are also in vogue. Women similarly have special names such as *Karuppayee* (கருப்பாயி), black-skinned, *Kooppi* (கூப்பி) sweepings, *Paisi* (பைசி), she-devil.

They do not claim to be indigenous to the hills, the legend being that they belonged to Madura. Owing to a war in which the Pandyan was involved they fled to the hills. At Bodinayakanur the pregnant women were left behind and they eventually went to the Nilgiris with their offspring. The bulk of the tribe went to the hills of Travancore. There is supposed to be enmity between these vague Nilgiris people(?) and the Muduvar. The Nilgiris people are said to visit Bodinayakanur occasionally but, if, by chance they meet the Muduvar, they do not speak to them though each instinctively recognizes the other. Those that came to the High Range carried their children on their backs, hence the name Mudugar (முதுகர்).

Another tradition says that they carried away Meenakshi of Madura with them on their back to Neriyamangalam. The Muduvar rank high among the hill tribes. They were originally Vellalas who accompanied the Pandyan Prince to the Travancore Hills. The time of the exodus is probably when the Telugu Naickers took

Bodinayakanur in the fourteenth century or earlier when the Pandyans entered the south. It may also have been when the Muslims came in Malik Kafur's time and later.

There are two types of countenances among the Muduvars and two types even in their language, customs, etc. Perhaps, they went in two detachments or when they arrived there was already another small tribe with west coast affinities with whom they intermarried. They live in the Cardamom Hills, Kannan-Devan Hills and also in one village in the Anamalais. They wander to some extent, less now owing to the establishment in their midst of planting communities. Their headquarters may be said to be the western slopes of the High Range. On the plateau their dwellings are rectangular, rather flat-roofed huts made of jungle sticks and grass and very neat in appearance. On the western slopes, the huts are rougher though good materials are available. Here, the back of the roof has no wall, the roof sloping down on to the hill side behind.

Outsiders are not generally admitted into the caste but a weaver boy and girl, starving and deserted on the hills in the famine of 1877 were adopted. A Totia Naick child similarly adopted into the tribe is now a full blown Muduvar with a Muduvar wife. They permit Vellalas to enter their community, but insist on a period of probation.

Disputes are settled by panchayats of elders of the village, the eldest being the head. References are made sometimes to the Mooppan, a sort of sub-headman. There is also a *Mel-Vakken.* These two offices are hereditary in the *marumakkatayam* way. Adjudications are sought by parties concerned. There is no machinery to enforce the decisions.

They observe omens and auspicious hours. A peculiar custom is mentioned, according to which, when boys reach puberty the parents give a feast to the village. In the case of a girl, the usual living apart in a special hut intended for all women in menses is done.

Childless couples are dieted, the man with plenty of the flesh of black monkey and the woman with herbs and spices.

Among the plateau Muduvars, there is occasional polyandry. Brothers are prohibited from having a common wife as also cousins on the father's side. A man may be polygynous in one village and may belong to a polyandrous group in another.

On the Cardamom Hills and on the Western slopes they abhor both polygyny and polyandry.

A couple that propose to marry each other must live, in a cave, by themselves for a few days (probation). Widow re-marriage is permitted and widow must be taken by the deceased's maternal aunt's son and not by brothers. Divorce is allowed, but it is not etiquette to do so except for infidelity or in case of incompatibility of temper. Divorced wives may re-marry.

Palaniandavar (பழனியாண்டவர்), Kadavulu (கடவுள்), Meenakshi and her husband Sokkuru (மீனாக்ஷி and சொக்கர்), Chanttattu Baghavathi, Neriyamangalam Sasta, Suryan, etc., are the deities worshipped. *Tai* (தை) *Pongal* is the only important festival. All who visit the village must be fed.

They bury the dead, laying the corpse north-south. They believe that a kill lying north or south will not be eaten by a tiger or cheetah.

Originally cultivators, they have now taken to hunting to suit the country. They do some shifting cultivation of ragi and hill rice. They catch rats, squirrels, quail, jungle fowl, porcupines, mouse-deer and fish. They kill with a blowpipe and dart many small birds. They use traps of three kinds. They are experts at catching ibex (wild goat). The Muduvar is a good shot with a gun too. The implement *par excellence* of the Muduvar is the bill-hook. They will not eat beef, dog, jackals or snakes. The plateau Muduvars will not eat pig in any form also. Liquor from a wild palm called '*tippili kal*' is a favourite drink. They think no one is good enough to eat and drink or smoke with them. In former days they were shy of strangers.

Fire is still made by means of flint and steel. They dress themselves like Tamil Maravans.

KADARS *

The Kadars of the Anamalais are a short broad nosed people, with very primitive features, living by hunting and by collecting forest produce. They are excellent trackers of game and expert tree climbers. They use a chain of loops made of rattan to descend precipitous rocks in pursuit of the rock bee-hive. The wife must guard above when he descends. The brother is avoided—c.f. the Yenadi having his brother-in-law. If a man-friend watches on top, the Kadar will take the friend's wife along with him in the descent so as to ensure his safety. He insists on coming back the way he got down though an alternative way is easier.

The Kadars eat mostly succulent roots and vermin; also bamboo seed, sheep, fowls, python, deers, porcupine, field rats, monkeys, etc. The mealy portion of the seeds of the cycas tree which flourishes on the lower slopes of the Anamalais is a part of their menu. The fruit is poisonous in its raw state but is sliced, soaked in running water, dried and ground into flour and baked in hot ashes. Sago palm (கூந்தப்பனை) is cut down into lengths of 1½ feet, beaten and a powder extracted by washing in water. The powder is boiled in water to the consistency of rubber and cut into pieces. This is tough but palatable enough. Roasting flesh with skin on is preferred by them. Rice is a luxury indulged in on a few occasions.

* These are different from the Kaders of Wynaad.

Women chew tobacco and the men smoke it. They take opium in large quantities. Men as well as women consume arrack and toddy for which they pay at very high rates. They were once a "dry people", but the Governments brought liquor within their reach.

Their marriage customs are similar to those of the Malasars, but they consider themselves superior to Malasars. The Kadar wears a comb in the hair of his head. They have a curious habit of chipping the incisor teeth to the shape of a cone. It is said to be a painful operation, but gone through by every boy and girl with an eye to æsthetics. In these chracteristics, the Kadar is unlike any other in India and is distinctly an alien. The Vedar also practice this.

These tribesmen keep shifting from Anamalais to Kollengode and into Cochin and Travancore areas and hence a definite habitat seems unascertainable. But those who were shown in 1931 Census against Calicut and Ernad taluks were the North Malabar tribe called Malayan or Malamuttanmar and also Kaders. They are a different tribe from the Kadar of Anamalais. These Kadars have always been confused with the Kaders of Malabar in the Census Reports. Kadar settlements exist at Attakatti, Nadar, Panimadukalyanapandal and other places in and around Valparai. The Kadar chooses the site for his *pati* with an eye on defence. Water-supply is another important consideration. The villages are seldom permanent and are located on the bank of a stream or on an open glade in a dense forest. Villages consist of from ten to twenty huts, which are generally built of bamboo or rarely of timber. Walls and roofs are also of bamboo; the roofs are thatched with teak or punna leaves or with grass. Doors are made to form sliding panels of bamboo work. A raised platform inside the house is used for sleeping. A *kora* (கோரை) mat makes the bed. A fire place is arranged in a corner of the hut. *Kora* mat, split bamboo *tattees* and a few planks make up the list of furniture. Women are in charge of the fire which is kept up continuously owing to the long and difficult method of producing it. The Kadars and the Malasars used to make fire by striking a piece of flint with a piece of steel; a kind of pith is used as the cotton. For cooking, earthen pots are used; bamboo vessels are used for other purposes. Water is kept in a hollow bamboo block, a yard or two in length called *kumbhom* (கும்பம்); the nodes and inter-nodes of this bamboo are bored an inch or two in diameter. This makes their water bottle on their marches.

Adults only marry and by mutual consent. There is no bride-price but presents are exchanged between the parents. The bridegroom's mother ties the *tali* and the bride's father puts the turban on the groom's head. The couple link the little fingers of their right hands and walk round the pandal and then sit and exchange betel. Men and women dance separately. The bride accompanies the bridegroom to his hut. Feasting is done for two days, for

relations and friends. Another way of marrying is for a young man to go out of his village for a whole year, select a girl and return for the consent of his elders. On securing this, he goes with presents and a *tali* of gold which he ties round the bride's neck. A Kadar has to present a comb made by himself to his bride, a custom similar to that of the Semangs of Indonesia.

The marriage is, as a rule, indissoluble. The woman is no more free. Every slip from rules of married life is punished. As a rule, Kadar girls are modest and child-like, and make good wives and models of constancy. Frequently a husband discards his wife who returns to her parents. Marriage can be dissolved only for incompatibility of temper and for disobedience on the part of the wife. The council of elders hear arguments on both sides and decides finally. In case of disobedience or immoral conduct, he or she will be expelled from the hills, which means going down to the low castemen of the plains for the future. Polygamy is indulged in with a view to increase the tribe. The first wife has precedence but each has her own cooking utensils. The larger number of wives a man has, the richer and more esteemed he is. Polyandry is unknown. Widows cannot remarry, but may stay in concubinage.

Pregnancy is indicated by wearing the *mundu* above the breast and throwing a second cloth on the left shoulder and under the right armpit. Delivery is done in the sitting posture. There is no mid-wife, but the mother or some old woman attends. Soon after birth, the mother and child are bathed in warm water, and for two or three weeks a medicine is given. It is made of anise, ginger, pepper, mustard, calamus and asafœtida, all well fried and boiled in water. Boiled rice and meat fried in coconut oil is the diet. Pollution lasts ten days. For three months after confinement, a woman is unclean. *Namakaranam* and *Karnabhushanam* follow and the Mooppan presides and bores the ear.

Family ties are well-developed. The sons, even after marriage, live with their wives along with their parents contributing their share of maintenance or live separately in their own huts. Among the Kadars, the son succeeds to the property of the father, but in the case of Mooppans, the eldest nephew succeeds. The Mooppan is appointed in the Cochin area by the Raja with the consent of the Kadars. He is given a stick with a silver head. The *Muppatti* (wife of the Mooppan) heads the Kadar women.

They worship Kali. Virgin girls bathe and cook rice and vegetable in honey (the rice unhusked by these girls). All partake of the *prasadam* (ப்ரஸாதம்). "Ayyappan" is another deity worshipped for success in enterprises. "Malavazhi" is a sylvan deity popular with them. He guards them against wild beasts. They also worship dead ancestors in times of illness and before auspicious undertakings.

The primary occupation of the Kadar is collection of forest produce. They are famous snake charmers and claim to know a leaf which is antidote to the venom. The Kadar has and needs only two weapons, the bill-hook and a digging spud. They can never be frightened into doing anything; when harsh words are spoken to them they simply move away. They never shirk work and are sturdy and strong. They are simple and unsophisticated and are utter aliens to vice and trickery. They are essentially nomad in their habits and live in small communities. They are fond of dogs.

Socially they are *chandalas*. There is mutual pollution by touch between Kadar and Malasar. They have little intercourse with each other.

Kadars consider the bison unclean and will not touch its body; the same way, also the elephant's dung. Wild elephants are venerated but tame ones are believed to have lost the divine element in them. Short-tailed black monkeys are considered a curse to the forests and hunted.

Men wear dhoti and turban; women wear the eight yards sari. The Kadars are fond of music and singing. They dance too. They sing Tamil songs. They add the suffix *Ali* (ஆளி) to their names, e.g., *Mudi Ali* (மூடி ஆளி)—lazy fellow, *Kathi Ali* (கத்தி ஆளி)—man with a knife, *Poo Ali* (பூ ஆளி)—man with a flower. They have nicknames, such "white mother," "white flower," "tiger," "milk virgin," "love," "breasts," "beauty," etc. They are excellent mimics; they imitate the mode of speech of Muduvar, Malasar and other hill tribes.

They afford a typical example of happiness without culture. Unspoiled by education, they still retain many of their simple manners and customs. Living isolated, in a thinly populated jungle, nature furnishing all their requirements, the Kadars have little knowledge of cultivation. They object to working with "mumuti," but armed with a keen-edged bill-hook they are immensely efficient.

ERAVALARS

A small forest tribe inhabiting the Coimbatore district and Malabar. They are found also in Chittur taluk of Cochin. The Eravalars are also called Villu Vedans. Their language is Tamil though some speak Malayalam. They address elderly members of the community as மூக்கன் (Mookkan) and பாட்டன் (Pattan) grandfather. Their habits are less migratory than of Kadars and Malasars. Their *patis* are situated in the forests. They are not independent cultivators but are attached to farmers. They are truthful, honest and faithful servants.

3. OTHER TRIBES OF TAMILNAD

PALIYANS

The Paliyans are perhaps the most backward and most miserable tribe in this Province. They are found in the hills of Madura (Palni, Kodaikanal and Periyar Hills) and in the hilly parts of the Tinnevelly district. They are believed to have been the original inhabitants of these hills. The Paliyans claim Valli, wife of God Subrahmanya, as a member of their tribe. In the Palni Hills, the Paliyans were enslaved by the Kunnuvans.

According to the Census of 1921, a total number of 731 Paliyans have been returned.

Since they do not beg and would not touch leather, the Paliyans are not treated as a mean or despised caste, in spite of their miserable economic conditions. The Paliyans occasionally admit into their community members of other castes such as Maravas.

They speak Tamil with a peculiar intonation reminding that of the Irula.

The Paliyans can scarcely be called a settled community, for they rove about in small parties, collecting honey, hunting and trapping small game, and gathering wild tubers and yams for food. They, like the Chenchus, poison hill streams to catch fish. They occasionally hire themselves for work under the hill villagers. Forest contractors employ them for the collection of minor forest produce. They cultivate nothing, nor do they keep any domestic animals, except the dog.

They own no property, their only possessions being an *aruval* (bill-hook), and a digging stick which they call *Pavuttam Kombu.*

They make fire by means of two sticks or by flint and steel. They drink the toddy from the wild sago palms.

" During the dry season they live in natural caves and crevices in rocks, but, if these leak during the rains, they erect a rough shed with the floor raised on poles off the ground, and sloping grass roof, beneath which a fire is kept burning at night, not only for warmth, but also to keep off wild beasts. They are expert at making rapidly improvised shelters at the base of hollow trees by cutting away the wood on one side with a bill-hook."

They worship godlings such as Mayandi and Karuppasami, and are great believers in witchcraft.

A good number of Paliyans have become converts to Christianity, but other Paliyans boycott the converts.

MANNANS.

The Mannans inhabit the Periyar regions. Strictly speaking, they are a hill tribe of Travancore. They speak Tamil and were originally dependants of the kings of Madura like the Uralis and Muduvans. All three accompanied the Madura King to

Neriyamangalam. Later on, they settled in a portion of the Cardamom Hills called ' Makara Alum '. The Mannan country extends southward from the limit occupied by the Muduvans on the Cardamom Hills to a point south of the territory now submerged under the Periyar works. Fever lives in the air they breathe. A chief of Poonhat nominated three of these Mannans as his agents at three centres in his dominions and gave them badges. They are: (1) Varayilkish Mannan at Tollairamalai, (2) Gopura Mannan at Mannan Kantam and (3), Talamala Mannan at Utumpan Chola. For these headmen, the other Mannans are expected to do a lot of services. Marriages can be contracted only with the consent of headman. Both sexes dress like Maravans. Mannans put up the best huts among the hill tribes.

The Mannans stand ahead of the other hillmen for their knowledge of medicine. The only communication they hold with the plains is on the Madura side.

Widows can remarry. They follow *marumakkattayam.* They bury their dead.

They worship ' Sasta ' (Aiyappan) of Sabarimalai and Periyar. They eat monkeys, but not crocodile, snake, cow or buffalo. Drink is a common vice among them.

Short, sturdy and hairless, the Mannans have all the appearances of an aboriginal race. They are cheery and sociable.

Like the Muduvans they pursue the destructive *podu* cultivation.

MALAIYALIS

[The following note on Malaiyalis has been kindly supplied by Mr. C. J. Jayadev, Curator, Anthropological Section, Madras Museum.]

Habitat

The Malaiyalis are an agricultural people inhabiting the hill-ranges of Salem, North Arcot, South Arcot and Trichinopoly districts. Three divisions are recognized among the Malaiyalis Those who live in the Shevaroy Hills of Salem and the Kalrayan Hills of Kallakurichi taluk are called the Periya Malaiyalis; those who live in the Kollimalais of Namakkal and Attur taluks in Salem are called the Kolli Malaiyalis; those who live in the Pachaimalais of Musiri taluk in Trichinopoly are the Pachai Malaiyalis. The Malaiyalis of North Arcot district live in the Javadi Hills of Vellore and Polur taluks.

Each village or settlement is called ' *Ur* '; plains settlements are spoken of as *Kombais*. A group of villages constitutes a *Nadu.*

Most of the Malaiyalis claim that they emigrated from Conjeeveram and call themselves Vellalas. Thus in North Arcot they call themselves *Karaikat* Vellalas; in South Arcot, they call themselves *Karala* Vellalas and some call themselves *Kanchimandala* Vellalas. They have Goundan as their second name which is the

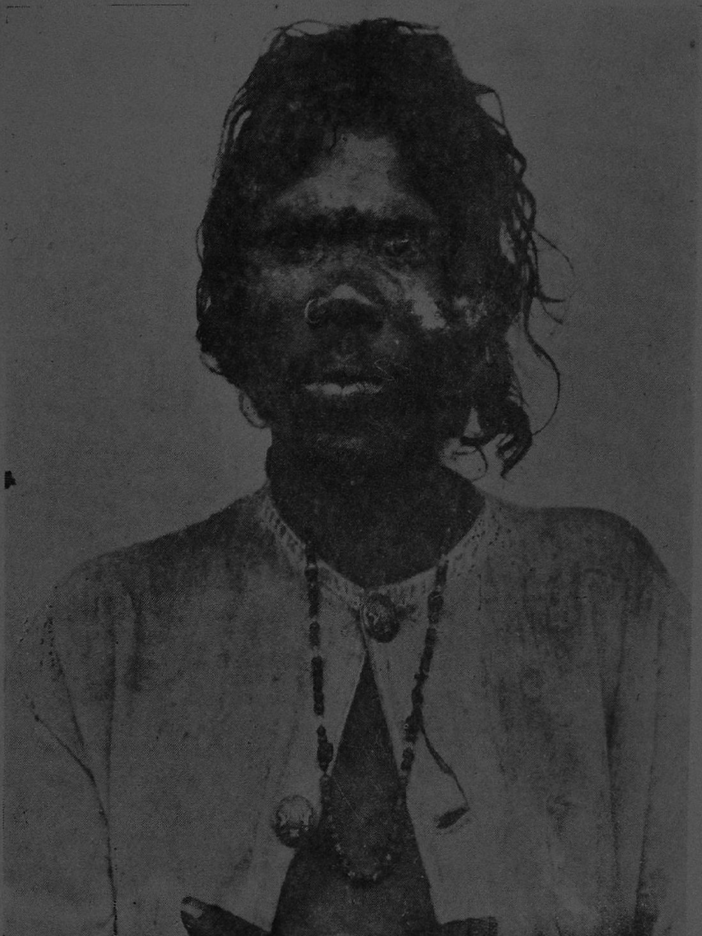

FIG. 1.—A SHOLAGA MAN, ONE OF THE HILL TRIBES WHO COLLECTS MINOR FOREST PRODUCE

PLATE XII

FIG. 1.—A CHENCHU WOMAN WITH CHILD FROM KURNOOL

usual title of the high caste Vellalas of Salem and neighbouring districts. The Malaiyalis insist on their being addressed as Goundans as they consider themselves to be a superior caste.

Population

The number of Malaiyalis in the four districts is roughly 60,000.

Tradition

Their legends of origin claim that they have migrated to the hills from Kanchi or Conjeeveram. The legend says that three brothers, Periyannan, Naduvannan and Chinnannan, having become outcastes accidentally left their homes, married respectively a Kaikola, a Veda and a Palla girl and founded the settlements of Kalrayans, Pachaimalais and Kollimalais. The detailed account of this legend is quoted by Thurston from the Gazetteers.

Social Organization

The Malaiyalis are said to be divided into exogamous septs or *Vaguppus* in Salem while there are no such groups in North Arcot or South Arcot. Exogamous divisions in the Pachaimalais are called *Kulams*.

Each village or *Ur* has a headman called *Ur Goundan, Kutti Maniyam, Muppan* or *Uran*. His office is hereditary and his installation ceremony is conducted by the sacrifice of some animals and by holding a feast. The Ur Goundan settles caste disputes in consultation with a caste panchayat of *Karakkarans* who are elected clan chiefs. The Ur Goundan has a *Kankani* to assist him.

A group of about 10 or 15 villages constitute a Nadu and this unit is under the jurisdiction of another hereditary chieftain called *Nattan, Nadu Goundan, Sadi Goundan* or *Pattakaran*. Each such chief or Pattakaran has a *Maniakaran* to assist him. The latter gives notice of weddings, summons villagers and does all such other work. The Pattakaran of each Nadu is a sort of higher tribunal to whom appeals against the decisions of the Ur Goundans can be referred. At present the Pattakaran's role appears to be merely a sort of ceremonial sovereignty. Thus a Pattakaran is the only person in the Nadu who goes about on horse-back and uses an umbrella and all the inhabitants of the Nadu pay obeisance to him on meeting him.

In some cases a number of Nadus are grouped under a still higher authority, the *Periya Pattakaran*. In case he is called *Raja* he is assisted by a *Mandiri* (Minister).

Language

They speak Tamil. The dialects vary from district to district.

Customs, Habits and Religion

The Malaiyalis observe pollution and seclusion at birth, puberty and death for varying periods, but generally there is a long period before purificatory ceremonies are performed. In the case of

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childbirth it is usually after a fortnight. The seclusion period for girls at their first menstruation varies between a fortnight and a month. Death ceremonies are over on the third day in the Kollimalais, but in other places the obsequies take place after a month. Animal sacrifices, usually pigs and fowls, followed by a feast, is usual in almost all ceremonies. Ancestors are worshipped on all ceremonial occasions with feasts and sacrifices.

The Malaiyalis worship Siva, Vishnu, Vighneswara, Subramanya and a large number of other deities. Their religious ideas are vague and they seem to owe allegiance to both Siva and Vishnu. They wear as caste-marks both *Namam* and *Vibhuti*. The Vishnu temple at Srirangam is held in great reverence. The temple of Arappalliswarar at Valappur Nadu is a place of pilgrimage on the 18th of Adi. Arangattappan and Kariraman are some of their patron deities. The village gods and goddesses are many as in the plains. Among them are Dharmaraja, Ayyanar, Karuppan, Kali, Pidari, Mari and Draupadi. Most of the village deities have *pujaris* who are not Brahmans. Brahman purohits are rarely employed in religious ceremonies or social or domestic functions. *Pongal*, *Dipavali* and the 18th of *Adi* are their chief festivals. A popular sport called '*Erudu Attam*' or 'Bull-baiting' is held after the *Pongal* festival.

Marriage

Marriage customs resemble in many ways those of the plains people. The payment of a bride-price—*Pariyam*—is compulsory. It is usually about Rs. 50 but may also be paid in kind. In some places, service with the bride's parents for one year is the requisite qualification. The *menarikam* system of cross-cousin marriage is followed. The betrothal is a simple ceremony during which the Ur Goundan should be present. The consent of the Pattakaran should be taken if the parties belong to different villages. In the Kollimalais, the *tali* is placed on the bride's neck by the bridegroom and the *Ur Goundan* ties it. In other places, the *tali* is tied around the bride's neck by the bridegroom.

Widow re-marriage is allowed if the second husband is not a near relative of the deceased husband. The children of the first husband have to be provided for and taken care of by their father's nearest male relative. The ceremony is simpler, the bride-price is reduced or not paid at all, but a fine is imposed by the caste panchayat. Divorce is allowed but often the question does not arise as women enjoy considerable freedom. In cases of separation, the husband claims all his wife's children irrespective of their paternity. Adultery within the caste is condoned by a fine; outside the caste, it means excommunication.

Economics

Agriculture is the main occupation of the Malaiyalis. Many of them are employed on coffee plantations in the Shevaroys. They also go to Ceylon or Malaya as indentured labourers. Formerly,

they were very good sportsmen. At present, there is not much scope for hunting on account of forest reservations. They snare small animals and birds and hunt wild pigs. On the whole, they are very good cultivators. The women are equal to the men in all agricultural operations. Terraced cultivation is common in the dry lands where a distinction is made between the land that comes under the plough—*Ulavu kadu*—and the land that comes under the hoe—*Kottu kadu.* Wet cultivation is mainly in the Kollimalais. The low level valleys are difficult to plough as the land is boggy. The ground is firm in the high level areas which can be ploughed. Besides cultivation of both dry and wet crops, the Malaiyalis grow fruits such as plantains and oranges, and collect forest produce.

The Malaiyalis resemble the plains people in their dress. The men have a waist-string of silk or silver over which the *Komanam* (*kowpeena*) is tied. A cloth is wound round the head and it serves as a turban and another is wrapped round the body. The latter used to be a blanket but woollen clothing is scarce among them now. Women wear the *sari* in the plains fashion but wear no *ravikkai*. The Pachai Malaiyalis wear coloured cloths. The Kolli Malaiyalis prefer white cloths. The women wear a cloth by tying it around the armpits so as to cover the breasts.

Jewels of gold, silver and other baser metals are worn by both the sexes. The men wear nose-rings in their pierced noses. The jewels are crude and substantial and are similar to those used by the plains people.

Tattooing is characteristic of the Pachai Malaiyalis but is abhorred by the Kolli Malaiyalis. The latter do not permit any tattooed person to enter their houses.

The usual diet of the Malaiyali is millet porridge with some vegetable curry. Rice is a luxury as most of it is sold away to meet the cost of other necessities. Pigs, fowls, birds and monkeys are eaten. The sacrifice of pigs and fowls is very common on all ceremonial occasions.

Special Features

The Malaiyalis of North Arcot, Salem and Trichinopoly districts come under the ryotwari system of revenue administration while those of South Arcot are included under the jagir system subject to the jurisdiction of the poligars.

Villages are scattered and difficult of access as there are practically no roads leading to any of their settlements. Those coming under the ryotwari system are treated for purposes of revenue collection, as any of the plains rural population, but they have none of the rural and social amenities which other rural populations get at the present day—schools, hospitals, roads, public health institutions, co-operative credit and marketing societies. Their exploitation by the plains merchants and usurers is notorious. They are more or less permanently in a state of indebtedness.

Their megalomaniac tendencies in thinking of themselves as a superior caste calling themselves Vellalas and insisting on their being styled Goundans, militate against their being classed as tribal or primitive and administered accordingly, but there is no doubt their many problems require careful handling.

CHAPTER X

THE CHENCHUS

Habitat

The chief habitat of the Chenchus is the Nallamalas of the Kurnool district. The Nallamalas extend northwards into the Nizam's Dominions. The Krishna cuts a gorge through it at Sree Sailam. The Chenchus of the typical kind are found on the other side of the river also in the Nizam's Dominions. South of Sree Sailam, traces of civilized life on these hills can be seen as far down as Ahobilam—the pride and solace of the tribe. Past Sree Sailam, it skirts along the western borders of Markapur and Palnad taluks. In the Markapur taluk, the forests of the Mantrala, Erragondapalem and Ganjivaripalle areas towards the Krishna Valley are inhabited by Chenchus who are typical of the tribe though differing slightly from the western Chenchus in Nandikotkur taluk. Relics of an ancient civilization abound in these areas. Further north, where the Nallamalas slope down to the rugged Palnad taluk, the Chenchus have extended their habitat but they are more in contact with plainsmen there. Here is the site of the famous Nagaragani Konda. What part the ancestors of the present day Chenchus played in that ancient civilization is not yet known. In the adjacent Vinukonda and Sattenapalle taluks, the Chenchu is very much of a plainsman. Judging from his existence in the Nizam's Dominions it is clear that the Chenchu land is the upper Krishna Valley in the same way as the Koya has held to the upper Godavari. He affects the hills and forests very much and hardly comes down to the plains.

According to 1941 Census Report, 26·6 per cent of the total number of Chenchus in this Province inhabit the Guntur district.

Population

A total number of 9,003 Chenchus was returned in the 1941 Census, of which 5,878 were from Kurnool and 2,104 were from the Guntur districts, respectively. The remaining 1,121 were scattered in the Krishna, Vizagapatam, East and West Godavari, Kurnool, and Nellore districts and Banganapalle State.

It seems that Bonthuk Savaras were confused with Chenchus so far as the return from the Krishna, West and East Godavari and Vizagapatam districts are concerned. For, the 'Challa Enadis' working as sweepers in the Tenali, Bhimavaram and Bezwada Municipalities are called 'Chenchuvandlu.'

According to Thurston, Newill confused the Chenchu with the Bonthuk Savaras when he said that 'Chenchus' in Vizagapatam speak corrupt Hindi or Urdu.

General Description

The name ' Chenchu ' may be derived from ' Chunchu ' (சுஞ்சு) meaning forelocks. ' Chunchu Varu ' will apply to people with unbraided and grisly forelocks. A Chenchu cannot be described better. It is also likely that in the past they gathered their hair on the forepart of the head, as some hillmen still do. The name may also be a corruption of ' Chanchu ' (சஞ்சு) which is a suffix meaning ' renowned ' or ' celebrated ' or ' stilled in ' as in Akshara Chenchu or Chara ' Chenchu ' (அக்ஷர செஞ்சு அல்லது சர செஞ்சு). From the strategic place their homelands occupy, the Chenchus may well have been the Charas (சார்) of the old kings of the south whose one pre-occupation was the protection of the Krishna and Tungabhadra frontiers. These frontier scouts must have lost their occupation after the fall of the Pallava and the Chola Empires.

Tradition

It is a matter for speculation whether the Chenchu had, at any time, anything in common with the Koya. Traditionally, his connection with the Enadi of the plains has been recognized. The Nallamalas are broken in the south by the pass leading from Proddatur to Badvel in Cuddapah district and the hills continue again under the name of Lankamalas east of Cuddapah taluk, and further down south as the Rapur hills to the east of the Rajampet taluk. These hills lead down to the Suvarnamukhi Valley and end up in a small but high range of hills in the Puttur taluk of Chittoor district called the Sadasiva Kona Hills. There are Chenchus at Sadasiva Kona, but so cut off from the Kurnool ones that they have no relationship with them. The process of the Chenchu evolving into an Enadi is here seen; the Chenchu of the Sadasiva Kona changes into the Kappala Enadi when he first moves down into the Kalahasti or Puttur plains; gradually he merges with the Enadis and becomes one with them. A few generations ago, the Chenchu of Sadasiva Kona carried bow and arrow. In the past, the Chenchu must have existed on the Lankamalas as also on the Veligondas which divide the Kurnool-Cuddapah districts from the coastal district of Nellore. They seem to have moved down into the coastal plains and become the numerous Enadi population of Nellore. Similarly, the Chenchus of the Sadasiva Kona, Kambakkam and other hilly forests of the Karvetnagar area have descended down as the Enadis of Chittoor and the Irulars and Villiars of Chingleput and further south. It is evident that the same tribe, as Irulars, had extended southwards along the Ghats through the North Arcot, and Salem districts, into the junction of the Eastern and Western Ghats near about the Attappadi valley in the southern slopes of the Nilgiris. It is likely that, on the Javadis, the Kolli Hills, Shevaroys, Pachamalais, he was supplanted by the Vellalas of ' Kanchi ' who inhabit these hills now and bear the name ' Malayalis.' The North and South Arcot Irular seem to have come about this way. The Nilgiri Irula may be the one ousted from the Kolli Hills.

The Enadi or Irula of the plains presents very different problems from the Chenchus. The Irula of Attappadi Valley and the Nilgiris has become an entity in himself. The Chenchu stands out as a separate subject in the Kurnool district (Nandikotkur and Markapur taluks) and in the neighbouring Palnad area of Guntur district.

Buchanan, writing about Irulas, said: "In this Hilly tract (Mysore, Canara and Malabar), there is a race of man called by the other natives 'Cad Eriligaru', but who call themselves 'Cad Chensu'. The language of the Chensus is a dialect of Tamil with occasionally a few Kannada or Telugu words but their accent is so different that at first my servants from Madras did not understand them. Their original country, they say, is the Animalaya forest below the Ghats, which is confirmed by their dialect."

In the Census Report of 1901, Irulars of North Arcot and the Mysore Plateau returned themselves as Chenchus. In 1891, Chenchu is given as a subdivision of Yenadis. MacKenzie, in the local records collected by him, speaks of Chenchus as Yanadi Chenchus. The Chenchus themselves say that they and the Yanadis are one and same and the tribes intermarry.

By Telugus, the Bonthuk Saoras are called Chenchu or 'Bontha Chenchu' though they have no connections with the Chenchu of Nallamalas. The Bonthuks, however, claim Narasimha of Ahobilam as their tribal God. They have Telugu house names or intiperlu, e.g., Pasupuleti, Simhadri, Koneti, Dasapatri, Gedala, Kudumulas, Akula, Sunkara and Tola. They name their children after visiting officers or towns—e.g., Collectors, Governor, Innes, Acharlu, Hyderabad, Bandar, London, Chennapatnam, Nellore, etc. This is because the child was born at the particular camp or when a particular officer visited their camp. A boy was named 'Tuyya' (parrot), because a parrot was brought into the settlement when he was born; another, Beni, because a flute was played at the time. The headman of a settlement is called 'Bichiadi.' Their one occupation is the collection of bamboo which they straighten by fire before selling. They marry their girls before puberty. They pay 'Oli' called in their corrupt Odiya 'Oyil-Tokka.' They bury their dead laying the body on its left side.

Subdivision

Like most other tribes, the Chenchus also have sept names and the totems are, Gurram (horse), arati (plantain tree), manla (trees), tota (garden), mekala (goats), indla (house), savaram (sovereign, gold coin) and gundam (pit).

Social Organization

There is a headman for each gudem, and the number of huts in the gudems vary from 20 to 30. Above the gudem headman, there is a chief who holds sway over 10 or gudems. He is called 'Reddy', and is given the assistance of a 'karnam' and a

few 'talayaries.' He tries civil as well as criminal cases with the assistance of a panchayat consisting of the headmen of the gudems under his control. The verdict of the 'Reddy-in-council' is the law and the fine imposed should be paid immediately.

The gudem headman tries all disputes and gives a verdict which is final though, sometimes, an appeal lies to the 'Reddy.' In former times, the Chenchu headman used to try murder cases and the murderer, on proof of guilt, was killed with the same weapon with which the murder was committed. In 1846, Captain Newbold observed a skull dangling from a branch of a tamarind tree in the forest near Pacherlu which, he was told, was that of a murderer and hill robber put to death by the headman. The practice appears to have been in vogue till the new police was introduced in 1860.

Language

The Chenchus are said to have a dialect of their own, but it is not known whether there is any script for it. They speak Telugu, but with a peculiar accent.

In Scott's 'Ferishta', the Chenchus are described as they appeared before Prince Mohamed Masum, son of Aurangazeb, as he passed through Kurnool in 1694 as "exceedingly black with long hair and, on their head, wore caps made of leaves. Each man had with him unbarbed arrows and a bow for hunting. They molest no one and live in caverns and under the shades of trees. The Prince gave them gold and silver, but they were unconcerned at receiving it. On the report of a gun they darted to the mountains with a swiftness uncommon to man." It is commonly supposed that the Chenchus are a semi-wild, innocent, inoffensive hill tribe living on roots, honey, wild fruits and jams. It is not so. They are a semi-wild, lazy, drinking set of brigands.

Customs and Habits

They levy black-mail from every village along the foot of the hills, from pilgrims, from graziers on the hills. They repay moneys borrowed from Komatis with stolen timber and minor forest produce. They rob travellers, and kill them, if they resist. They are very ferocious at times, and have developed criminality to a very great extent and are adepts in thieving and highway robbery. They worship Sree Narasimhaswami of Ahobilam.

Marriage

Three forms of marriage are in vogue. One is the selection of a girl by the boy intent upon marrying. When, on mutual consent, the boy and girl retire to the forest from the Gudem for one night and return the next morning, the parents of both the bride and the groom invite neighbours and relatives, give the couple new clothes and declare them duly married. A feast is given to the invitees. The second form is this: a small space, circular in form is cleansed with cow-dung water and, in its centre, a bow and arrow

tied together are fixed in the ground round which the bride and bridegroom are made to move when the elders throw on them some rice and bless them. The marriage comes to a close with a feast. The third method is to consult a Brahman for an auspicious day, and at the appointed time, the girl and boy are seated on a specially raised platform, when the 'tali' is tied to the bride. A Brahman officiates. This method, apparently, has crept in only recently.

If either of the first two methods is adopted, usually, the ceremony is conducted in the 'abhijit muhurtam'—अभिजित् मुहूर्तम्-i.e., noon, exact 12 o'clock and to find out the correct time they plant an arrow straight on the ground and watch for the moment when it does not throw any shadow. This is followed by the Chenchu as by the Yenadi.

The Yenadis and Chenchus intermarry. Re-marriage of widows and of those deserted by their husbands is permitted. But desertion by either party is usually uncommon. Women are very chaste, and unchastity is severely punished; in former days, death was the sentence. Polygamy is prevalent.

Economics

Their only occupation is collection and sale for cash or barter of the minor forest produce. Their other occupation, if it can be so-called, is highway robbery. Some Chenchus are employed by the Forest and other Government departments as Talayaries or Road Police with a view to preventing highway robbery and dacoities. Mr. Thurston criticises it in his 'Castes and Tribes of Southern India' as an astute piece of diplomacy on the part of the Government though it may seem to the on-looker to be a measure to better the conditions of the Chenchus.

The Chenchu builds his hut either in the shape of a bee-hive or oblong with sloping roof; he generally locates it in a grove near a pond or a stream. It may be mentioned here that a Chenchu Gudem resembles a Yenadi colony.

The staple food of the Chenchus consists of cereals, yams, and some jungle roots which they dig out with their digging-stick, forest fruits and various animals such as crow, lizard, bear, peacock and black monkey. They are fond of young flowers and buds of the mahua tree and tamarind fruits, the acidity of which is removed by mixing with them the ashes of the bark of the same tree. They also collect bamboo seeds, husk them and keep the rice reserved for the off-season.

Their dress is very simple; males are almost naked but for a piece of cloth round their waist and a 'kowpeena.' The women dress better with a saree.

The Chenchus were very detrimental to the forest wealth in bygone days. They never hesitated to poison any well, pond or stream, irrespective of whether the water was protected or not, for a small catch. They thought nothing of felling a tree in order to collect its fruits, and set fire to miles of forest to enable them

to collect some minor forest produce like horn, hides, etc., and to trace game.

The action of the Chenchus was much resented by the Conservator of Forests who thought that their disastrous methods could be checked, only if they were given some rights in the forests. On the recommendation of the Conservator of Forests for the grant of certain rights to the Chenchus in order that they might not be so detrimental to forest wealth as they used to be, the following rights were granted by the Governor-in-Council to the Chenchus of Nallamalas, in the year 1898 :—

(1) Right of way and carrying of torches and lighting of fires in areas *other than* fire-protected blocks during the non-fire season.

(2) Right to wash and bathe in such springs, wells, pools, etc., which are *not especially protected* for drinking purposes by the District Forest Officer.

(3) Free removal of wood, viz., poles and smaller pieces of third-class and unclassified trees, bamboos, fibre, thatching grass, firewood, roots, fruits, honey, and other forest produce *excluding* tusks and horns, to the extent of actual requirements for domestic use, the quantities of which will be fixed by the Collector.

(4) Right to fish and shoot subject to the following restrictions :—

No Chenchu Gudem shall, without the special permission of the Collector, be allowed to keep a large number of guns than that for which licences had been taken out at the time of settlement. Every gun covered by a licence shall be stamped with a distinctive mark or number. The use of poisons and explosives in water, and the setting of cruives or fixed engines or snares for the capture or destruction of fish are prohibited.

(5) Free grazing subject to the condition that for purposes of regeneration, a portion of the area set apart for the grazing of cattle, not exceeding one-fifth, may be closed to grazing at any time, and for such length of time as the District Forest Officer deems fit.

(6) Right to collect for sale or barter certain minor forest produce subject to the conditions that—(i) the right of pre-emption of all minor forest produce collected by the Chenchus for sale or barter shall be reserved to the Forest Department; and (ii) the exercise of the right of collecting wood and other forest produce for domestic use, and of collecting minor forest produce for sale or barter, shall be confined to natural growth, and shall not include forest produce which is the result of special plantation or protection on the part of the Forest Department.

Another source of income to the Chenchus is by way of levy of tolls from pilgrims to Sree Sailam at festival time, which is now recognized by the Government.

An old episode in the Chenchu area is interesting. At Bairluti in the Kurnool district, a generous Englishman built a substantial stone dwelling in the depths of the great forest there, erected indigo vats, planted groves of choice mango, oranges and limes. He bought

buffaloes and, by careful selection and breeding, evolved a magnificent type. These buffaloes have now become entirely fruit-eaters and are engaged in seeking for and devouring the forest fruits which litter the ground in quantities—ippa and forest fig chiefly. The fruit-eating imparts to their milk a peculiarly rich nutty flavour and the cream is abnormally rich. The western Chenchus now trade in ghee of this type, and are more prosperous than others.

Degeneration of Chenchus

The degeneration of the Chenchu who claims even to-day the shrines of Sree Sailam and Ahobilam, whose daughter was coveted by Vishnu himself and in whose habitat traces of civilized life including iron-smelting, etc., are abundantly found can be explained only as due to the degeneration of the forests into park lands. It is evident that these hills and forests have suffered from neglect.

In the wars that raged in these areas, the more martial hillmen appear to have joined the armies and moved down far and wide in the plains. Such are the Boyas—who formed the soldiery of the Vijayanagar Empire and Hyder Ali. A Boya was sometimes called 'Chenchu.' Boya may be derived from 'Bhogya.' When the men took service as soldiers, the women were evidently taking to domestic service of all types in the plains. The tradition among Boyas of dedicating some of their women for prostitution is noteworthy. The tribe, compelled to find a place in the plains, was probably prepared to yield this far to the plainsmen, at the same time preserving family life for the bulk of the community. The word Boya is also said to be a corruption of 'Koya.' One sect among Koyas is called 'Perumboyina.' The beef-eating and other 'anacharas' of the Boya support this. After the wars, the Boyas settled down as agricultural labourers. Prominent soldiers among them were apparently rewarded by the old rulers with small estates and we find an upper class among them called 'Pedda Boyas' and a few zamindars. The Boyas are seen only in the west of the hills in the districts of Bellary, Kurnool, Anantapur and Cuddapah. In the first two districts they are one of the major communities to-day; but they are a backward class of agricultural labourers. They join the police in large numbers, and, with their fine physique, make excellent men in the Armed Reserves of the police force.

The denudation of forests in the eastern slopes of the Eastern Ghats must have commenced in quite early times for the Chenchus of that area to deserve the title 'Eyinar.' In the east too, we find, in the Nellore district, the Yenadi took to domestic service more or less on Bhogya lines and has evolved a sub-sect called 'Manchi Yenadis' or 'good Yenadis.' They have evidently had a great admixture of plainsmen's blood and no longer bear the characteristic Yenadi looks.

While those who left the hills have fared as above, the stay-at-home Chenchu held to his seclusion unconcerned, as shown above, even by a Grand Moghal's visit. He could still exploit his forests

and trade in their goods. But the chaos prevailing in the plains all around made his hill and forest occupations unprofitable and living in the forest precarious, which made him turn to the *palai* (desert) trade of brigandage. When the Government took the forests he considered it a definite usurpation and resisted through pillage and plunder until as late as March 1929 when the last of the 'Rebels', Mandla Byga, was shot dead at Tummalabylu. Through centuries of secluded hill life, the Chenchu has become what he is and his very lands and forests have suffered from this neglect. The Chenchu has been curbed, but his *palai* ways are still prevalent. Those of Chintalamudipi have recently invited police attention by their depredation on Markapur town and its vicinity. But his *palai* way will not go as long as the Nallamalas do not get restored as proper 'Mullai' (forest) and 'Kurinji' (hill) for the Chenchu and for others.

Recommendations

The problem of the Chenchu is the problem of the Nallamalas. It is true that the two forest divisions are now exploiting the Nallamalas, but even so, the Nallamalas may be said to be neglected. Many an area within the forests are fit for reclamation and colonization. Small dams across hill streams can provide for irrigation of many fertile acres. The big Telugurayuni Cheruvu speaks to the memory of the famous 'Telugu Raya' only by its name and the miserable Chenchugudem at the place. The tank itself is in disrepair—which is not beyond repair—and the once flourishing villages below it are overgrown with scrub jungle. They were deserted long ago.

The river Krishna itself is a potential source of energy for irrigation and electricity. The northward bend taken by the river at Sree Sailam provides advantages from an engineering view point.

Malaria is not a great menace here and can be eradicated more easily than elsewhere. When the interior is reclaimed, colonies of agriculturists can flourish and great scope will exist for dairy-farming and cattle-breeding. The forest administration, of course, should be rendered conformable to this, and the forests conserved and exploited as the wealth of the rehabilitated Chenchu and the colonists who are bound to flow in from the plains below as fast as they deserted it.

Roads within the areas are not difficult of laying and electricity is bound to brighten up the tract. This is certainly a most important and strategic area lying waste with its potentialities all too underrated. Industrial possibilities are great here, especially for cottage industries. Even the smelting of iron in cottage furnaces could be revived. The hills are rich in galena and other minerals.

CHAPTER XI

CRIMINAL TRIBES

YENADI and IRULA

The name Yenadi is a corruption of Einar (எயினர்) the name by which the inhabitants of the *palai* regions were distinguished in ancient times. The names Irulan, Villian, Vedan and Malayan are also used by the Tamil-speaking members of this tribe. They inhabit the regions below the Eastern Ghats and along the coast from Guntur to South Arcot.

The characteristic features of an Yenadi or Irula are prominent cheek bones, a pointed chin, scanty hair on the face and the body, a tendency to curls of the hair on the head and a platyrhine nose. They are feeble in physique with soft and flabby muscles. A tradition has grown associating the Yenadi with the Pulicat Lake area as his original home. The most miserable sections of this tribe live in the jungles of Pulicat. They do some fishing. Based on this tradition, a foolish suggestion has been made that the Yenadis are negritos from the Malay Peninsula or Africa or Australia who were ship-wrecked on these shores. Even a connexion with the Yanans of North California has been suggested!

The main homelands of this tribe are the modern Nellore, Chittoor and Chinglepu districts. More strictly, it may be restricted to the Kalahasti, Karvetnagar and Kambakkam Hills, and to the jungles of the Pulicat Lake. It is in this restricted area that you find the typical Yenadi or Irula called Adavi Yenadi. Further up in Nellore, their jungle characteristics get toned down gradually to two distinct and opposing types. The first is the 'Manchi' Yenadis or the 'good' Yenadis who, through long domestic service in the homes of the upper classes, have lost all the jungle characteristics. They are cooks and '*Khasas*', and even Brahmins and Reddis employ them. To-day, one can distinguish a 'Nellore' type, irrespective of caste, and the 'Manchi Yenadi' belongs to that type. The second is the miserable Challa Yenadi who lives on the refuse of the table in Nellore and who also does scavenging work in Nellore, Tenali and other municipalities. Adavi or jungle Yenadis have spread into the villages where they live in scattered huts in topes and fields as watchmen. Further north in the Godavari and Vizagapatam districts, there are a scattered few of this tribe passing under the name of Nakkalas, the appellation indicating their snaring the jackal and eating its flesh. Of Adavi Yenadis, a section catches frogs and are called Kappala Yenadis. All these Yenadis worship 'Chenchu Devata,' and in their ballads and dramas they call themselves Chenchus. The Yenadis enact their own drama which is called Chenchu Nataka.

They follow the Chenchu method for finding out the midday, the *Abhijit muhurtam;* only, not having the arrows of the Chenchu, they plant a stick and watch for the disappearance of its shadow. The sex life of the Yenadi is similar to that of the Chenchu.

The Yenadi does not eat beef, but is very fond of the field rats and fish.

The Adavi Yenadis manufacture charcoal. To the south of the Suvarnamukhi river, where the Aruva Nadu of Tamil country begins, the tribe extends under its Tamil name of Irula into Chingleput, North Arcot and South Arcot districts. The Irula has acquired some Tamil habits and would now disclaim all connexion with the Yenadi. Chiefly, the Irula despises the frog-eating of the Yenadi and considers all Yenadis inferior to him. They have a tradition that after the *Yuga pralayam* or the deluge, Villiar or Irular, Vedar and Malayar who were all descendants of a Rishi, under a curse, were living in a nude state, men wearing skins and women stitched leaves, and eating roots, fruits and honey. A certain Mala Rishi, sometimes mentioned as Valmiki, took pity on them seeing their helplessness against wild beasts and lived with them for a time. He mixed freely with their women and several children were born. The Rishi advised them to worship 'Kanniamma', the virgin goddess. Several other Rishis also lived in their midst and were responsible for other new castes. The Yenadi is one such caste. The original Irular were averse to taking cooked rice even when gratuitously offered. The Yenadi broke the rule, came to the plains, began eating cooked rice and imitating plains people. One can see in this story the transition from a *Kurinji* (hill) and *Mullai* (forest) life to the life of a *Palai* (desert). The section called Yenadi were evidently the first to suffer from their *Mullai* degenerating into *Palai* and were, therefore, called *Einar*. The others who stuck to the hills and forests a while longer could look down upon them. To-day, however, Irula, Villia, Veda or Malaya are in the same state as the Yenadi. All of them are *Einar*.

In the Chenchu Nataka, Kannappa Nayanar and Enadi Nayanar, the Saiva Saints, are claimed by the Irulas as of their caste. In the Chenchu Nataka, again, they claim also Ekalavia of the *Mahabharata*.

The Irular worship Kanniamma in addition to Chenchu Devi. The virgin goddess may be a form of Chenchita. Any way, the single virgin has now been multiplied into seven virgins and the *Sapta Kanyas* are worshipped. The *Kannimar*-worship is not unknown to other Tamil castes. Generally, the Kannimar temples are in forests near a stream. The *Kannimar odai* or virgins' brook near Salem is a popular resort for picnics. The Kannimar are represented by oil lamps (earthen ware) placed under the Bandari plant which is sacred and the Irula will not let a Pariah or an Yenadi see them. He despises the Yenadi so much as an outcaste.

The Irula and the Yenadi, like the Kurumbar, find occasion for worship during the '*Choula*' or first head-shaving of children. On such occasions all children under ten years of age are collected and the maternal uncle of each child cuts off one lock of hair and ties it to the *ravi* tree (*Ficus religiosa*). Like the Kurumba, they worship their ancestors.

The Irula has the same partiality for rats as the Yenadi.

Anthropometric measurements show a definite commonness among the Sholaga, the Irula of Nilgiris, the Irula of the East Coast and the Urali. The last two bear the signs of greater contact with plainsmen.

Marriage among the Yenadi-Irular is purely by mutual consent. The ceremony is not indispensable although it is becoming fashionable nowadays. Their code of morality is very low. A man may take several women at a time, but a woman may take only one man at a time. Divorce is easy and frequent.

When a girl attains puberty, she is placed in a separate hut erected then and there for eight days. A stick of the *Nux vomica* plant is placed inside the hut to ward off evil spirits. On the ninth day, the girl bathes and is free from pollution. The hut is burnt down.

Pollution is observed after child birth. For the first three days after delivery the mother is fed on the tender leaf of the date palm; later she is given rice. Margosa leaves and the knife used for cutting the umbilical cord are kept under the child's head for six days. A net is hung in the doorway of the hut to ward off evil spirits. The mother bathes on the tenth day.

The Yenadis are soothsayers. Like the Nilgiri Kurumbar, they pretend to interpose between man and god. The soothsayer goes through a training under experts. All castes once resorted to the Yenadi soothsayer. The Yenadi is fond of singing and he gives his predictions in songs.

The Yenadis are good divers. They are keen on fishing. They are clever at catching cobras. They are fearless in this matter as also when they swing with the help of a rope of plaited bamboo some 200 feet from a precipice in order to gather honey. The honey collection by the Yenadi is a very skilful affair. There is one interesting feature of this dangerous descent for the honey. The Yenadi insists on his wife's brother being in charge of the rope on which he swings. We have seen that the Kadar of the Anamalais has an even better device for ensuring his safety. He carries the wife of the man on to the top with him in the swing.

The Irula, Villia, Veda or Yenadi has a reputation for knowledge of some medicinal roots and herbs. In fact, the soothsayer secures the confidence of his clients by holding burning cinders in his hands before he begins his oracular demonstrations. His ancestors, it is claimed, could put their hand into boiling rice and stir it. It is remarkable that in Sreeharikota which is notorious for elephantiasis the Yenadi alone is free from it.

They generally bury their dead and their funeral rites resemble those of Hindus. Some cremate also. They worship other Hindu gods too. They wear caste-marks chiefly the Vaishnava *namam.*

This well-known tribe is a large one and may really number a few lakhs. Near the hills and jungles they are conspicuous as charcoal producers and forest coolies. They bear the marks that distinguish them from every other community. Their economic condition is deplorable and their ways are, therefore, primitive though socially they have a status and are a touchable caste. The census enumerators omitted them from the list of tribes since 1901. In 1881 and 1891, they were returned with totals of 66,099 and 88,988, respectively. In 1941, Villians of Chingleput were mentioned as a tribe but only a small number, 28, was shown. The Villians are really thousands in number in Chingleput district alone and the census figures are evidently a mistake. It is, however, gratifying that the tribe has got included under one of its sectional names. The Villiar Sanghams in Chingleput district recognize the oneness of the Irula, Yenadi, Veda and Villia, and through their good offices, the tribe shows signs of rising above sectional jealousies and making a united demand for recognition of their miserable condition by the Government.

The Government have not been unaware of the existence of this tribe. In this miserable *palai* life, the Yenadi easily becomes a tool in the hands of crime organizers from among the upper classes. The Yenadi seeking the refuse of the table or a watcher's job in a field or a tope on a wage of Rs. 10 per annum was only too easily tempted to steal, burgle and even dacoit when some upper class man put him on to it promising to feed him, his wife and children. If the Yenadi went to jail, even then, his wife would be looked after. The process was similar to the one by which the Korava or Erukala became a criminal tribe with the difference that the Yenadi lacked the skill of the Erukala and was always clumsy. In fact, the famished wretch would eat all the eatables in the house he burgles and defecate there and leave other signs of his handiwork which the police very soon learnt to classify as the Yenadi mode. The Yenadi confesses easily but often saves his patron, the receiver. The tribe was notified under the Criminal Tribes Act. They are notified under the names of Nakkalas and Yenadis. But under the latter name many Irulas and Villias also have been registered. In this matter, at least, the oneness of the tribe has been recognized!

Since the introduction of the Panchayat Scheme and the setting up of *Palems*, Yenadi crime in the Chittoor district has nearly disappeared and this is influencing the neighbouring areas of Chingleput and Nellore also.

Large numbers of the tribe are no longer in a stage of transition. They have definitely become plainsmen and part of the main body of Hindus. It is so in the Nellore and Guntur districts. The Manchi Yenadis of these districts are no more *Einar*. They are coveted domestic servants and have a place in society along with

other Hindu castes. The Challa Yenadi who eats anything and does scavenging is very much like a depressed class and will deserve to be treated as such.

The Yenadis of Chittoor, the adjacent Venkatagiri forests, the neighbourhood of the Kambakkam Hills in the Chingleput district, the Gudiyatham area of North Arcot, and the Gingee area of South Arcot are of the Adavi type and are still in a transitional stage. Similarly also are the Yenadis of the Pulicat Lake area and the Irulars who extend along the coast as far south as Porto Novo in the South Arcot district.

The Adavi type are already the subjects of the Chittoor Yenadi Reclamation Scheme which was commenced in 1935. It is run by the police. It was also initiated by the Police, a fact which may seem curious to persons who are not quite conversant with the Madras Police, its personnel and its methods with crime and criminals. It is not known to many that the Criminal Tribes Act and its provisions were as "galling" to the Police who had to administer it as to the social worker, politician or other sympathiser. Even in the twenties, the Police who have greater knowledge of the environmental factors around the criminal tribe members began paying attention to these factors and attempts were made to instil a family sense, if not a tribal sense, into the members. Ideas of reclamation without internment in a settlement under section 16 of the Criminal Tribes Act were conceived quite early and the present Siddhapuram Settlement began that way. A tribe, notorious as the Donga Woddars, were invited to settle down voluntarily on the fertile acres below the Siddhapuram tank in the Kurnool district. An Inspector of Police made it his life's work. The voluntary settlement made a bid to become a model for rural reconstruction work. Agriculture prospered and cottage industries throve. In 1930, a great step towards reformation and ultimate emancipation was taken when the Police put the restrictive orders in abeyance in respect of members who showed promise of good behaviour. In 1935, in the district of Chittoor, a further step was taken, and this was a large one, when the tribal self-respect was invoked through panchayats representative of a group of tribesmen. There were thousands of members on the registers and the total population of the notified tribes in the district was some tens of thousands. A census was taken and a panchayat and a Nayak elected. The Nayak's office was recognized by the Police, who spoke to the tribesmen through the Nayak and the panchayatdars. The scheme succeeded. The Nayak came to be recognized as their spokesman by the tribesmen. The Lambadis had their natural *Tandas*, the Erukalas and others lived in villages, but the Yenadis were then living in a scattered way. They found it safe under the Panchayat Scheme to live near their Nayaks, and soon in every panchayat unit, the Yenadis began asking for huts and sites for huts near to the Nayak. This facilitated the building of Palems. When the Palems came about, there were 182 by the middle of 1937, the

Police had another problem and that was the finding of remunerative occupations for the Palem-folk. It was realized that the Yenadis were children of the forest and, forests, therefore, suggested themselves as one natural resource that may be availed of. Attempts were made to do *Kumri* cultivation (shifting cultivation) in the forests, not in the destructive tribal way but agreeably with forest regeneration. Zamindars were approached and lands for cultivation secured. A minimum of 200 acres per Palem was secured where lands were available. In a Palem called Jayanti, 1,200 acres were secured, and in Melachur, 500 acres. Jayanti, in 1941, produced paddy, cholam, ragi, chillies and tobacco. Charcoal burning, the traditional occupation of the Yenadis, was taken up. The contractors who had been paying the Yenadi were eliminated. Schools were started; and carding, spinning and weaving introduced. The Yenadi carding and spinning attained a great standard. The Andhra All-India Spinners' Association had helped in this. The Yenadi weavers at Kalahasti earned good wages.

Like most good things, the scheme appears to have languished, partly due to preoccupation in other matters on the part of local officers and partly due to a feeling among some Police officers that the working of the scheme is outside the province of normal Police work. Policemen who hold this view are giving up their own case. The Police of a land should be the supremest nation-building agency. The City Superintendent of Police in ancient Hindu drama was called a Nagaraka from which 'Nagarakala' meaning 'civilization' comes.

However, the plight of the Yenadis of Chittoor under the Reclamation Scheme is a sorry one. The foundations there including charcoal burning have decayed. The *Charkas* are plied only by a few. The lands allotted by the Zamindar have not yet been brought under the plough completely, and the Zamindars are rightly grumbling about it. They assigned the lands to Yenadis on easy terms in preference to villagers. They expected the lands to be cultivated to pay them the agreed rents. In the year just passing, there has been a revival of interest in the Yenadi reclamation on the part of the District Police who have unfortunately and quite surprisingly been greatly discouraged by almost every one of their proposals being turned down by the Government.

A remedy of the present state of affairs is urgently needed. Firstly, the lands assigned may be acquired by Government. Secondly, spinning and weaving should be revived. Thirdly, the Forest Department should allot coupes to the Yenadis through the Nayaks or the Reclamation Officer. Fourthly, several proposals for wells, schools, etc., made by the District Superintendent of Police, Chittoor, in the past years have been turned down as "absolutely" non-essential. They should all be re-examined. For the rest, the measures suggested for this tribe as a whole as well as other tribes similarly placed are dealt with in Part I of this Report.

The Chittoor Yenadi Scheme may be extended to Chingleput, North Arcot, South Arcot and also such Adavi Yenadis as there are in Guntur and Nellore districts.

The Pulicat Yenadis present a problem of their own. The one curse they suffer from is malaria, against which measures must be taken at once. There is scope here and along the coast line down to Porto Novo for acquiring lands where the Yenadis may grow casuarina. In fact, they now work as coolies in these plantations. It is a paying occupation and will suit the Yenadi very much. As a coolie, he is poorly paid. Cashewnut can also be grown.

Fishing in the Pulicat Lake is of great potentialities.

KORAVA

This tribe is also called " Koracha " and " Erukala " in the Telugu districts. In the Tamil districts, the name is Korava, but it is considered by many that " Kurava " is the name. The " r " is the trilled or the second of the two " r's " in the Tamil alphabet (குறவர்).

The Kuravar or Kunravar is the name by which the *Kurunilam* folk or hill people were called. The Kurava tradition connects them with Muruga, the Tamil Hero-God, through Valli, a Kurava girl whom he married. Muruga is the God of the hills, and his temples are usually on the hills. In the Telugu country where Vaishnavism has greater vogue, the hill shrines are generally those of Narasimha. The Korachas and Erukalas associate themselves with Narasimha.

In ancient days, there appear to have existed a Koranadu and a Koramandala. Koranadu sarees (கொர நாட்டுச் சேலைகள்) are known to be fashionable wear among Tamil ladies. Coromandel Coast is, perhaps, Koramandala Coast only. Korava is the name of one of the hill tribes in the Central Provinces. There is also a place called " Korea " in Upper India. The distant Korea or Cho-Sen in East Asia, till recently under the heels of Imperial Japan, is not too far to be thought of when we talk of this tribe. The Koreans, living as they do in the midst of Mongoloid peoples, ruled and oppressed by them for centuries, are yet different from them. In features, in character and in their speech, they are different from the Chinese, Japanese and Manchurians. And, looking at a picture of Koreans, one cannot help being struck by the Hindu features that are strikingly apparent in spite of the dress and other settings of a very different character.

It remains to mention the possible connexion with *Kora* meaning the " Sun." The Sun-religion had a high place in the East Coast and in Tamil Nad in ancient days. The Sun temple at Konarak, 50 miles east of Puri in Orissa, is a monument of a highly civilized community of Sun-worshippers. Konarak (Kuna Arka or the Sun of the East—rising Sun) had the Sun's temple and the Provinces around seem to have borne the names of the signs of

the zodiac. Some of these names have survived even now in Chaitra-pura, Visakha-patna, Mithuna-pura, Kataka and Simha-bhumi.

Whether they were Koravas or Kuravas, this tribe appears to have been once in a prosperous state. That a *Nadu* and a *Mandala* are named after them shows they might have been politically important too. They were carriers of trade, busily moving with their donkeys between the coasts and their interiors. They acquired sect names according to the commodity they traded in. Their peregrinations gave them great knowledge of the several cities, towns and villages, and their trades gave them access to people of all classes and types. This seems to have been availed of by the rulers of the day and the Koravas were employed as an intelligence corps. The name Erukala that the Telugu section of the tribe bear is attributable to this, " Eruka " in Telugu meaning knowledge. Even in Tamil, the word " Kuru " means to tell and " Kuruvan " may have become Kuravan. Later on, Tippu Sultan of Mysore engaged them in his Espionage Corps. For his own purposes, he trained them to pilfer in the enemy's camps and rob them on the routes. The Kurava, with his disciplined caste organization, was able to systematize his criminality. Thereafter, when, with the advent of modern transport facilities and trade systems, the Korava's traditional occupation was gone, he resorted to thieving and robbing which is a fine art with him, studied as such from childhood.

The Koravas or Erukalas talk a dialect of Tamil and are ethnically cousins of Tamils and Telugus of the plains though some writers have tried to class them as aboriginals.

The Koravas have been notified as criminal tribes under various names in the several districts. Their skill in burglaries, their daring in dacoities and the consummate manner in which they organize crimes through the length and breadth of the country are well-known. Hardy, industrious and intelligent, they applied all their talent and energy to a life of criminality. But it must be noted that the profits of their biggest hauls and greatest plunders went to enrich others only. The Korava was a mere tool. His was an organized community that had been reduced to live on its wits and compelled to wait on some patron of the villages and towns. It was a period in the country's history when rural economy was struggling to adjust itself to modernism. The Korava was a free element in this flux, but an element that would not easily coalesce or combine with others. At the same time, owing to kinship of language and race he could not stand out altogether like the Lambadi. He sought patrons in the villages among the tyrants and anti-social elements of that period who were themselves only victims of circumstances in this historic transition. The Korava used to the open air and the freedom of the trade routes chose the free booters' life which the patron helped owing to his own impotent strivings towards power. What is called the " Poligar spirit " prevailed.

PLATE XIII

FIG. 1.—YENADIS OF NELLORE

The Korava was notified quite early under the Criminal Tribes Act. The severest provisions of the Act were applied to him. They were removed in thousands from their homelands in Rayalaseema and interned in the settlements in Nellore and Guntur districts. The American Baptist Mission and the Salvation Army undertook the management of the Kavali, Sitanagaram and Stuartpuram settlements. There was not available at that time a single Hindu organization to undertake the task. At Kavali, thousands perished in a few years behind the barbed wires. From there and from Sitanagaram, gangs of them would break out, march along the old familiar routes known to Policemen as the Erukala *Batas* (bata—route) to their ancestral homes where an erstwhile patron or a patron of their deceased ancestors would welcome them, however, clandestinely. They would hide in a neighbouring hill or jungle until the Police get scent and pursue them. They would, in the meanwhile, visit the tombs of their ancestors and perform " Shraddham ". The settlement meanwhile would have telegraphed the usual " out of view list " and the Korava would know that the chase is on through every district he traverses. He is, however, thankful for the brief freedom and grateful to those in the villages that have shown kindness. He would express the gratitude by a few burglaries and dacoities. These would sometimes be directed against the enemies of his patron. Invariably, the proceeds will go to the ones that have shown hospitality. The hosts, in course of time, would develop a taste for them and gradually learn to harbour the Korava with this motive only. Often, the Korava would be the honoured guest and enjoy privileges even with the womenfolk. But the age of dacoities was ended with the advent of bus transport. Rural economy too had got settled; social values even in villages came to be determined on the Gandhian lines. The bright one of the village would not be a tyrant any more; he would wear *khaddar* and go to jail. The Korava too changed. The new creed ensnared him too and in Stuartpuram where the Salvation Army had proselytised for forty years, the revolt began and it was the revolt of peace. Erukula youths preached Gandhism for which the management punished them. They formed an Erukula Sangham and are editing a paper entitled ' Erukula.'

The tribe has come into its own. Naturally intelligent, gifted with a remarkable adaptability, they are fit to take their place with the main body of our population. But they need help and such help as a penitent wrong-doer merits from the wronged. The Korava must have land. He must have education given him free for another generation.

Emancipation from the Criminal Tribes Act is deserved and due in the present state of the tribe and the conditions prevalent in the Province. But the freedom will be worthless and may even be dangerous if the Korava is not adequately provided for settling down as a good citizen. A settler in Sitanagaram seemed

very sad when he heard the Chairman of the Committee proclaim that the Criminal Tribes Act will be abolished. Almost in tears, he asked, " What is to become of us then? " In the settlements they have some possessions too—some of them—and their fear is that with the abolition of the Criminal Tribes Act, the settlement will be wound up and they sent out to live on their wits again in the wide world. The tribesmen honestly feel that they will not have their emancipation on such terms.

At Sitanagaram and Stuartpuram which are Erukula settlements many families can settle down on land. At Sitanagaram, the quarries provide a substantial subsidiary income. At Stuartpuram, about 800 acres of land have already been assigned. Erukula villages have come up here. There is much more land available and irrigational facilities are available and can be extended. Round about Kavali and Bitragunta vast tracts of land are available and Erukula colonies can be established here. The Erukulas really belong to Rayalaseema but several generations have been born in these eastern districts since their transportation from their homelands into the settlements. They have got accustomed to these areas, to the language and the manners. They now prefer to remain where they are. In the west, the Korachas, who had gone back to their homelands on release from settlements survive in small numbers in several places. In some cases, their lands have been taken away during their stay in the settlements. Restoration must be done in such cases. In the case of others, lands must be provided afresh now. In Tanakal area of the Anantapur district, there is a regular clamour for lands. Land is available almost everywhere, but in the first three or four years, the Korava must be helped with bulls, implements, seed, etc.

LAMBADI

The Lambadis are seen in all the upland areas in the Telugu and Kannada Provinces. They are known also as Sugalis and Brinjaris. The three names Lambadi, Sugali and Brinjari are derived respectively from *lavana* (salt), *su-gwala* (good cowherd) and *Banijar* (traders). They are also sometimes called *Gohurs* but this is not a common name. The Brinjari division of this tribe living in the Nizam's Dominions is called Vadatya or Northern Division. They are divided into four main classes. These are the Vadatya above mentioned, Chavan, Panchar and Bhutya classes. The last three were descendants of three sons of an ancestor called Mola who, with his brother Mota, was a descendant of Sugriva of the Ramayana! Mota's progeny became the Laban, Gurjera and Marwadi clans. There are *Gotrams* within each of the four classes and the names of *Gotras* in the Vadatya class show that they were later immigrants from Central India, e.g., Ajmaira. These classes intermarry with one another and a feud between the Vadatyas and Bhutyas is now forgotten. The Bhutyas are

the principal class in Rayalaseema where this tribe exists in large numbers. All these come under the generic term Lambadi. They speak a dialect of the Cutchi group. It is a facile language and sounds well in spite of the inevitable admixture of Kannada, Telugu and Tamil words.

In olden days, this tribe was engaged in the carrying trade. The Lambadis were carrying salt from the coast and grains from inland. The Banijars carried other goods of commerce. The Sugalis settled down in suitable pastures on these routes and bred the cattle that served as pack bullocks for the tribe. Their trade was destroyed with the introduction of other means of transport. The Lambadi is now trying to settle down to cultivation but there is not much good land left. During the transition from pastoral life and life as itinerant traders to agriculture and other means of livelihood, the Lambadi took to crime too and in some districts came to be notified under the Criminal Tribes Act.

The Lambadis are a strong and virile race. The men have adopted the regional dress of Kannada or Telugu area but the women retain their picturesque garments in the making of which they spend a lot of time and energy. They also wear various jewels characteristic of the tribe, the horn bangles, the peculiarly shaped anklets and the *gurikis*. Reformers have attempted to make the Lambadi women give up her heavy unwashable dress and take to the ordinary sari. They have met with little success. It seems unwise to interfere with it on moral as well as aesthetic grounds.

The sex life among the Lambadis is healthy. They have a high code of morality. Widows cannot re-marry, but may live with anyone. No illegitimacy attaches to the children of such unions. Before the widow contracts such union, her children, if any, are separately provided for by a gift of buffaloes, etc. The Lambadi woman is never sick or sorry. She is hard-working, strong, always bold and cheerful. They sing and dance most prettily. The songs are in their language and in praise of Krishna, the Lord of Cows. They always live in villages of their own which they call *Tanda*. They do not mix with other communities.

They are found in large numbers, chiefly in the uplands of Chittoor, Anantapur and Bellary. They are also found on the Erramalais near Panyam and at Diguvametta in the Kurnool district, in the western taluks of Guntur and also in the uplands of the Krishna and West Godavari districts. In the south, they extend from the Palmaner plateau of Chittoor into North Arcot and Salem.

They are good with their cattle. At Panyam, they actually breed good cattle now. They generally bring the cattle of the plains up to the hills for grazing during the off-season. They are said to be quite honest in this business and receive a fair remuneration from the plainsmen.

The Lambadis are growing keen on education. In Bellary and Chittoor they are asking for schools. Some educated Lambadis of

Bellary have undertaken great social work among their kinsmen, and an awakening is noticeable. In and around Madanapalle, efforts of sociologists and sympathisers have done some good.

The problem of the Lambadis can be stated as under :—

They have an aptitude for agriculture and want lands for cultivation. They are a pastoral community and require pastures and other facilities towards remunerative dairy-farming and cattle-breeding.

The children must be taught in their own language. It is now an unwritten language but it is possible to write it in the Nagari or Telugu script and text-books for primary schools can be prepared. It is a language which deserves to be preserved.

They have a weakness for arrack which they always manage to distil illicitly.

KALLAR and MARAVAR

The Kallars and Maravars of the south are notified under the Criminal Tribes Act. They belong to a group of three very proud communities in Tamil Nad, who style themselves as the *Mukkulattar* or the 'three clans'. The three are Kallar, Maravar and Agambadiyar.

Rajas and Zamindars belonging to these clans exist. There have also been scholars and saints among them. The tribesmen resent being called tribes. Verily, the land of the Maravas to-day is a *palai* and appears to have been so for quite some centuries. The Kallar traditions trace them from the Pallavas. The Kallar has been connected with the Kurumba too.

Various accounts of these tribes have been written and the tribes are so well known and so much in the midst of plainsmen to-day that an account of their customs and manners will be redundant here. The facts to be noted for our purposes are :

(1) that these are virile communities endowed with some conspicuous martial traits;

(2) they are found in large numbers in certain taluks of Madura and Ramnad districts. The Kallars are 36 per cent of the population of Tirumangalam taluk, 20 per cent in Periyakulam, 18 per cent in Dindigul, 12 per cent in Nilakottai and 10 per cent in Palni. The Maravars predominate in the Ramnad district, especially in the Mudukulattur taluk;

(3) the areas they occupy are more or less of the *palai* variety; and

(4) they have been notorious for the *palai* mode of living, i.e., robbery and theft.

With an improvement in irrigational facilities resulting naturally in a reclamation of the *palai*, the Melur taluk Kallars are reported to have settled down as good ryots. But in the other areas which have not been so fortunate Kallar crime has gone on unabated.

The application of the Criminal Tribes Act to batch after batch since 1914 has not reclaimed them. Nor has the immense expenditure of money and the energies of the huge police and other staffs to educate the Kallar through schools and co-operative societies been of any avail. The 'bee-keeing instructors' and 'poultry farms' could not make the Kallar Nadu flow with milk and honey. An attempt with textile weaving was a similar failure. The rural credit societies have only resulted in the Kallars' lands being encumbered to an extent of nine lakhs of rupees in the Tirumangalam taluk alone, at an average of Rs. 100 per acre.

There cannot be a clearer case to show that all attempts at 'reclaiming' a tribe or community must be futile if the land they live on is not reclaimed beforehand. This point is very important in the immediate present. There is a proposal to extend the Periyar Project to the Tirumangalam taluk. This should be taken up at once. The only remedy is the conversion of these *palai* regions into cultivable lands as in Melur and Tirumangalam.

In the course of reclamation work under the Criminal Tribes Act, Kallar panchayats were set up, but the panchayats were merely agencies for helping the Police in controlling Kallar crime. The Kallar and the other public would have been the gainers had the panchayats been charged with more than the informer's task. The panchayats may now be availed of in the reconstruction of the Kallar and Maravar villages in a scheme of reclamation of all their lands.

A number of co-operative societies exist and they are almost all only credit societies. There are as many as 267 societies on paper, most of them being defunct or dormant.

A Kallar Common Fund has been a success with a lakh of rupees made up from donations by Kallars. It is administered by an elected committee with three Superintendents of Police and a Deputy Superintendent as ex-officio office-bearers. It really means that these officials are running it; it is, however, a good amount and may be useful for a future Kallar bank.

There are 256 elementary schools with nearly 15,000 pupils maintained for Kallars alone. Some 1,500 pupils are receiving higher education as boarders in various institutions. There are boarding homes for Kallars at Usilampatti and Melur. The Boy Scout Movement has been introduced.

The Kallars do not take to agriculture kindly. They love cattle; in fact, their cattle-lifting itself may be an indication of their respect for cattle. This feature rather agrees with their Pallava origin. Cattle-breeding and dairy-farming will probably be the most suitable occupation for them. There is a vast acreage of cultivable waste and more of the non-cultivable in the district. Regeneration of these areas into pastures and forests will be useful in more ways than one. In the Tirumangalam taluk alone there are some 11,000 acres of cultivable waste which is mostly black

cotton soil. Cotton and groundnut will grow well here and where the soil may not lend itself to conversion into pastures, fodder-cholam can be grown.

It is often said that with the repeal of the Criminal Tribes Act, Kallar crime will grow unchecked. But the fact is that Kallar crime continued to be high even when the Criminal Tribes Act was applied to them and even after the schools and co-operative societies were set up and bee-keeping instructors appointed. Recently, there have been signs of deterioration; attendance at schools has gone down; co-operative dues are recoverable only with difficulty and Kallar crime shows a tendency to increase. It is evident that the Kallar resents both the Criminal Tribes Act and the cossetting attempted to be done through the huge doles of the Kallar Reclamation Scheme. The wearer knows where the shoe pinches; if he does not, he at least can know whether the remedy has relieved him of the undefined pain. In this, the Kallar alone knows whether schools, etc., have relieved him of the need or the propensity for committing crimes. His answer being what it is, it is clear that the Kallar problem lies elsewhere than in the lack of elementary schools and short-term credit.

The educated few of the communities are now striving to reclaim their communities. The difference between the Kallar of Madura-Ramnad and the Kallar of Tanjore is noteworthy. The latter is a good ryot; even then the Kurumbori could become a ryot in the Cauvery Delta. But those who went further south after *Adondai's* destruction of the Pallava Kingdoms came upon land that was decaying into a *palai*. They earned the name Maravar and if they are to be reclaimed, it will be not the Criminal Tribes Act or other penal enactments, nor even the schools and co-operative societies that will achieve it, but a reclamation of these huge tracts of *Pandya Nadu* and their conversion into forests and pastures where the cowherds may worship their Vishnu and play the flute. It is significant that though the Kallar are Saivas, their favourite deities, the Kal-Alagar, Kattu-Alagar, etc., all represent Vishnu.

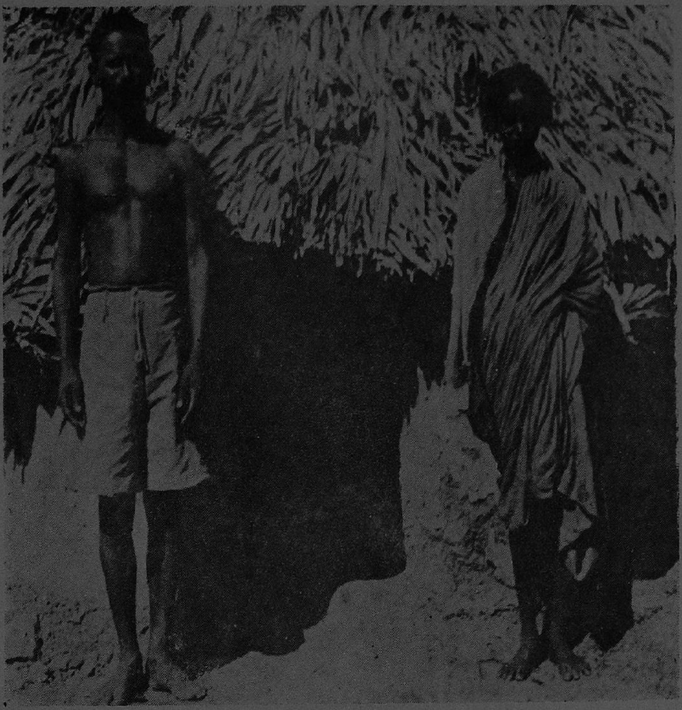

FIG. 1.—AN ERUKULA COUPLE IN FRONT OF THEIR HUT INSIDE THE BARBED WIRE ENCLOSURE IN THE BITRAGUNTA SETTLEMENT

FIG. 2.—A SMALL BOY-INMATE (SUBBA RAO, SON OF A KANJARBHAT) OF THE BITRAGUNTA SETTLEMENT

FIG. 1.—A TYPICAL LAMBADI WOMAN WITH HER PICTURESQUE GARMENTS AND JEWELLERY

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

(1)

TERMS OF REFERENCE AND PERSONNEL

GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

PUBLIC (POLITICAL) DEPARTMENT

G.O. Ms. No. 2516, dated 19th November 1946

[Aboriginal tribes—Material condition—Committee to enquire and suggest ways and means for uplift—Constituted.]

The Government have decided that a committee should be appointed to enquire into the material conditions of the aboriginal tribes living in the Madras Province including the Madugole Agency and other Agency areas and to suggest ways and means for their uplift.

His Excellency the Governor of Madras hereby appoints the following gentlemen as members of the Committee:—

(1) Sri V. Raghaviah, *Parliamentary Secretary*,
(2) Sri T. K. T. N. R. Tatachari, M.L.A.,
(3) Sri U. Muthuramalinga Thevar, M.L.A.,
(4) Sri B. S. Murthy, *Parliamentary Secretary*,
(5) Sri L. N. Rao,
(6) Sri K. Kelappan, and
(7) Dr. A. Aiyappan, *Superintendent, Government Museum*.

Sri V. Raghaviah will act as Chairman of the Committee.

Sri V. Subbarayan, *Assistant Superintendent of Police*, will be Secretary to the Committee.

2. The terms of reference are as follows:—

(*a*) To investigate and report on the economic and social conditions, customs and habits, modes of worship, marriage laws and rules, etc., of the tribes in question, their progress in education, methods of cultivation and desirability of continuing 'podu' or 'shifting' cultivation, whether they are indebted and exploited by other communities and, if so, how to prevent it, whether they are addicted to drink and how to prevent it, whether there are any customs which though repugnant to the modern ideas still deserve to be preserved and whether their interests are adequately looked after by the Government officials concerned;

(*b*) to investigate and report on the grievances of the members of the said tribes especially in matters such as gaming rights, access to forest produce; and

(*c*) to consider and report on the changes necessary to be introduced in the policy relating to the administration of the Criminal Tribes Act with particular reference to the question of tackling the nomadic habit prevalent among several of the tribes and on such other matters as may be germane to the uplift of the said tribes.

3. The Committee will tour in the areas concerned and submit their report before the end of December 1946.

* * * *

(By order of His Excellency the Governor)

K. Ramunni Menon,
Additional Chief Secretary.

To all Members of the Committee, etc.

(2)

Sri L. N. Gopalaswamy was appointed additional member of the Committee in G.O. Ms. No. 2665, Public (Political), dated the 9th December 1946.

(3)

Sri Kankipatti Veeranna Padal, M.L.A., and Sri K. T. Kosalarama Nadar, M.L.A., were appointed members of the Committee in the place of Sri L. N. Rao and Sri U. Muthuramalinga Thevar, M.L.A., in G.O. Ms. No. 902, Public (Political), dated 21st March 1947.

(4)

Sri L. N. Rao was appointed additional member of the Committee in G.O. Ms. No. 1771, Public (Political), dated the 5th June 1947.

APPENDIX II

STATEMENT OF POPULATION OF ABORIGINALS AND CRIMINAL TRIBES IN THE PROVINCE

(P.T.—Primitive Tribe; D.C.—Depressed Class; E.—Eligible Community.)

(1) Population of Primitive Tribes based on 1941 Census—

1 Aranadan (D.C., P.T.)	489
2 Badaga (P.T.)	56,047
3 Bagata (P.T.)	19,536
4 Chenchu (P.T.)	9,003
5 Dombo (D.C., P.T., E.)	20,688
6 Gadaba (P.T.)	14,033
7 Gond (P.T.)	495
8 Irula (Nilgiris) (P.T.)	4,316
9 Jatapu (P.T.)	56,651
10 Kadar (P.T.)	644
11 Karimpalan (D.C., P.T., E.)	4,242
12 Kattunayakan (D.C., P.T.)	1,520
13 Kond or Khond (P.T.)	54,539
14 Konda Dora (P.T.)	98,747
15 Kota (P.T.)	952
16 Koya (P.T.)	95,633
17 Kudubi (D.C., P.T., E.)	11,885
18 Kurichan (D.C., P.T., E.)	12,131
19 Kuruman (D.C., P.T., E.)	2,244
20 Marathi (P.T.)	37,485
21 Malasar (P.T., E.)	10,602
22 Male Kudiya (D.C., P.T., E.)	3,491
23 Porja (P.T.)	14,458
24 Savara (P.T.)	14,696
25 Toda (P.T.)	630
26 Pano (D.C., P.T.)	522
	545,679

(2) Population of Primitive Tribes for which only 1931 figures are available—

27 Mavilan (D.C., P.T., E.)	1,341

(3) Population based on 1941 Census, of certain unclassified tribes—

28 Kuruba	4,936
29 Malakkaran	117
30 Malayan	48
31 Mudugan	1,193
32 Sholagar	4,463
	10,757

(4) *Population of certain tribes mentioned only as D.C. and E. and not as P.T. for which only 1931 figures are available—*

33 Ghasi	6,081
34 Koraga	4,042
35 Paidi	39,437
36 Paniyan	32,410
37 Pulayan	23,378
38 Valmiki	4,289
39 Vettuvan	28,325
	137,962

(5) *Tribes for which only 1921 figures are available—*

40 Kummari	134,000
41 Kurumba	150,827
42 Malaiyali	62,000
43 Paliyan	731
44 Rona	26,780
45 Urali	50,000
	424,338

(6) *Tribes which have not been included in any of the three (1921, 1931 and 1941) Census Reports—*

1. Adiyan, 2. Dhulias, 3. Eravalar, 4. Mulia, 5. Kammari, 6. Konda Reddi or Hill Reddi, 7. Kotia, 8. Mannan, 9. Muduvar, 10. Muka Dora, 11. Oginbe, 12. Oja, 13. Chettis, 14. Kunduvatiyans, 15. Kaders, 16. Pathiyans, 17. Uridavans, 18. Thachanad Muppans, 19. Kanaladis.

Approximate Total Aboriginal Population based on the above figures—1,120,077.

*Population of Criminal Tribes.**

Yenadi	138,426	(1921)
Irula	99,784	(1921)
Kallar	50,859	(1931)
Kuravan	2,110	(1931)
Maravar	423,012	(1931)
Lambadi	53,980	(1921)
Villies	28	(1941)
Total	768,119	

* Figures are given only for those tribes dealt with in this report. The years in brackets refer to the respective Census Report.

APPENDIX III

ABORIGINAL POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES IN OTHER STATES AND PROVINCES

A. HYDERABAD

TRIBAL RESERVES

The Government of His Exalted Highness the Nizam launched a scheme of amelioration of the conditions of the aboriginal tribes in Hyderabad by first sanctioning a scheme for the creation of a "Chenchu Reserve" on the 23rd February 1942. The scheme came actually into force in 1943, and the chief points, as given by Mr. R. M. Crofton, C.I.E., I.C.S., are as follows:—

(1) Part of the Amrabad plateau has been established as a "Chenchu Reserve" in which the Chenchus can follow their traditional mode of life, and are allowed to hunt and to collect forest produce without interference from outsiders.

(2) Within the reserve minor forest produce is no longer auctioned, but the Forest department has arranged for a sale and purchase depot, where minor forest produce is purchased from the Chenchus at fixed rates and where they can buy grain, salt and other food-stuffs as well as cloth.

(3) No non-Chenchu is allowed to settle in the reserve and no money-lender is allowed to deal with the Chenchus of the reserve.

(4) Forest contractors who employ Chenchus for felling work have to pay them scheduled wages.

(5) The Chenchus are allowed to cultivate within demarcated areas free of any charge or revenue, and the Forest department encourages their gardening activities.

(6) The Forest department, aiming at the gradual replacement of all non-aboriginal Forest subordinate in the reserve, employs Chenchus as forest watchmen.

(7) Provision is being made to give the Chenchus regular medical attention.

(8) Many of these concessions apply also to Chenchus living outside the reserve, and it is planned to settle those Chenchus who live now as agricultural labourers in hamlets attached to the villages of Telugu peasants in special Forest villages where employment will be provided by the Forest department.

These measures which are to be augmented by a rural reconstruction scheme for the entire Amrabad taluk now under consideration will no doubt stabilize the economy of the Chenchus and afford them protection from encroachment and exploitation by outsiders, thus helping them over the dangerous period of transition from an ancient mode of life to the participation in the full economic and social life of a wider and more advanced community.

For the Chenchus of Amrabad in Mahbubnagar district an area of 750,000 acres has been ear-marked as "Chenchu Reserve" wherefrom they are permitted to collect and use *all* the minor forest

produce free of cost. In Adilabad, an area of 4,310,409 acres in Utnur taluk has been notified as the tribal zone, the chief tribe here being the Gonds. Similar notification for the Mulug and Narsampet taluks of Warangal district has also been proposed.

ADMINISTRATION

The Government have recently appointed an Adviser for tribes and backward classes attached to the Revenue Secretariat, and under this Adviser, Special Officers of the cadre of the Hyderabad Civil Service have been appointed to look after the tribal areas. Annually a 'Tribal Durbar' also is held by the Revenue Minister which gives an opportunity for a number of tribal representatives and their officers to meet the highest Government officials in conference. These tribal conferences which were instituted about eight years ago have brought about a remarkable change in the attitude of the aboriginals to the Government and Government officials. Special Tribes Officers, such as Mr. Moazzam Hussain, Hyderabad Civil Service, have done commendable work for the tribes, which has been specially appreciated by the Government.

EDUCATIONAL SCHEMES

As the Government recognized that teachers who are members of the various tribes will be able to do their work more satisfactorily than unwilling teachers imported from other areas, special training schools to train members of the Gond community as school teachers were started in 1945 under the Gond Education Scheme. The number of teachers trained is approximately 60. In this centre, the medium of education is Gondi. Another training centre for Koyas was started a year ago at Sudimala (Warangal district). Ten candidates have passed a test equivalent to the fourth standard of Government schools, medium of instruction being Telugu. They are also employed as teachers. The teacher-candidates, fourteen in number, are given a monthly stipend of Rs. 15 per mensem.

There are separate training centres for the tribals to be trained as village officers. Several of them who passed a test have been employed as village officers.

The Government have decided to exempt such tribals who are found to be fit enough to be employed as forest chowkidars from the compulsory training and test usually held by the Forest department.

Devanagari script has been adopted for the Gondi language and written charts for adults, and readers and books on tribal literature for children have been produced in this language. The Special Educational Officer for the Tribes and the Adviser for Tribes and Backward Classes are jointly producing a number of new books for use in tribal schools.

The budget for 1947 includes schemes for (1) Rural Welfare Schemes for the Chenchus of Amrabad, (2) Koya Education Scheme (The Sudimala Scheme—Adilabad district), (3) The Gond Education Scheme (The Marlavai Scheme—Warangal district) and (4) The Godavari Valley Scheme for Koyas and Hill Reddis, the total grant being Rs. 2,29,000 for the year.

The Government have also opened Rural and Grain Banks to which grants have been made available from the Rural Welfare Trust. The Banks not only lend grain to the aboriginals but also have opened a retail shop on consumer goods needed locally.

Mr. W. V. Grigson, the Revenue Member, has gone further to make a suggestion that the "Co-operative Department should experiment with the foundation of at least one village on a collective farming basis, fostering it with generous assistance from either the Rural Welfare Trust or the budget allotment for aboriginal tribes. For the 1354 Fasli budget, a small co-operative staff might be provided of, say two organizers for dealing with collective farming, formation of purchase-and-sales societies and co-operative forest societies."

B. ORISSA

In 1938, the Government of Orissa appointed a committee under the Chairmanship of Mr. A. V. Thakkar of the Servants of India Society to report on the Partially Excluded Areas of that Province. The Thakkar Committee went into the question referred to it in a very thorough manner, and a detailed report was submitted to the Government in 1940. Orissa has much larger percentage of aboriginals than the Central Provinces, Bombay or Madras. As the Congress Ministry in the Provinces went out of office on the outbreak of the war, the recommendations of the Partially Excluded Areas Enquiry Committee were not implemented.

The Provincial Government, by a notification in 1943, excluded the Panos of the Ganjam Agency and Dombs of the Koraput district from the list of hill tribes notified under the Act for the reason that the Panos and Dombs were not really aboriginals, but were money-lenders who were exploiting and expropriating the aboriginals, and they were, by mistake, included in the list of aboriginal tribes, protected by the Agency Tracts Interest and Land Transfer Act. The Forest department of Orissa have taken initiative for opening two depots in the Parlakimedi Agency, which provide the Savaras with some of their daily necessaries which, otherwise, they have to purchase from petty traders at unreasonable prices. They have also appointed a Special Officer to enquire into the question of the revision of 'Mamools' extracted from the aboriginals by Muttah heads. Exactions by the police and minor officials have also been largely checked by constant vigilance on the part of superior officers. Wherever it was the practice for the aboriginals to do free or ill-paid work for Government or their agents, the Government have recently passed orders that all Government work should be paid for on full rates.

In the matter of education, the Orissa Government have proposed to set up 100 primary schools each year in the Partially Excluded Areas for the next five years. The pay of primary school teachers was increased in 1946–47, and improvement of the buildings and equipment is being taken up. More scholarships are being

created, and arrangements are being made for increasing the free supply of books and slates to the students of the hill tribes. There are two industrial schools in the Partially Excluded Areas where the aboriginal students take readily to carpentry and smithy, but are averse to weaving as an occupation. There are proposals for opening more industrial schools and 25 Middle English Schools with vocational classes during the first post-war quinquennium.

For medical relief, it is proposed to launch a campaign against 'yaws' by setting up a number of mobile dispensaries during the first five years of the post-war period.

Regarding the future, the Government of Orissa are "emphatically of the view that the aboriginal does not by any means belong to the sub-human species of the human race or that he stands in need or protection for all time to come". They feel that within a short time the aboriginals should be able to stand on their own legs, and take their rightful place in the public life of the country, provided they are helped in the transition stage and given some protection which their present helpless condition demands from the Government. Constitutional safeguards against the economic exploitation of the true aboriginals, safeguards as for example, to provide for the prohibition of transfer of lands by members of aboriginal tribes to non-aboriginals, are necessary for a certain period of time. The following extract from the "Memorandum for submission to the Constituent Assembly on the Partially Excluded Areas of Orissa" summarises the position:—

"10. The constitutional arrangements which the Provincial Government visualise for the implementation and co-ordination of plans for the development of what may for lack of a better term be called "protected areas" can now be described. In formulating their recommendations in this matter the Provincial Government have kept in view the following three different factors:—

(*a*) The need for constitutional safeguards for aboriginals, so long as they are unable to make effective use of their democratic right of franchise. That the economic and cultural development of aboriginals should be above party politics can hardly be overemphasized. In the present state of their moral and material development, it would indeed be desirable to keep out local politics from aboriginal tracts as far as possible;

(*b*) the clear need for co-ordination either at the Group level or the Union level; and

(*c*) the need for financial aid either from the Group or from the Centre in carrying out intensive development programme of the type the Provincial Government have in mind. Adequate finances, which it would be impossible for any Province to find from its own resources, would be essential if the Provincial programmes of cultural development and economic advancement of aboriginals are not merely to remain on paper. It must be borne in mind that areas mainly inhabited by aboriginals contribute and will continue to contribute for a long time very little to the provincial revenues.

Having regard to these considerations the Provincial Government's proposals in the constitutional sphere are as follows:—

(i) There should be local self-governing agencies in the protected areas. The local bodies should be partly nominated and partly

elected. The nominations will be made by the Provincial Government; and the elections should be indirect and held through tribal panchayats which should be encouraged.

(ii) Protected areas should return elected members to the Provincial Legislature. A specific number of seats should be reserved for aboriginal members in general constituencies; but the aboriginal members should be elected to these seats by a suitable system of indirect or group election.

(iii) Laws passed by the Provincial (or Group or Union) Legislature would not automatically apply to the protected areas. In order that they may come into force in such areas, the laws will have to be specially extended by the Provincial Government.

(iv) The Provincial Government should be competent to frame special regulations for protected areas.

(v) The Provincial Government would be the executive authority for implementing the policy of economic advancement and cultural development of aboriginal areas, but the policy will be co-ordinated at the Union level.

(vi) The Union Government should set up a special tribal board or commission or council to advise them in matters relating to administration of protected areas. The constitution of this body and whether its functions would be entirely advisory are points which will require consideration. It will also be a matter for consideration whether the Provincial Governments having protected areas within their jurisdiction would be required to set up similar bodies at the Provincial level.

(vii) In matters pertaining to the administration of protected areas, the Provincial Government should be required to act under the general superintendence and control of the Union Government—particularly with regard to the utilization of grants made by the latter for economic development of protected areas. In other words, the administration of protected areas should be the 'special responsibility' of the Union Government. It should be within the competence of the Union Government to lay down a minimum limit of annual expenditure from provincial revenues for a specified term of years or from year to year, on the economic and cultural development of protected areas.

(viii) All the constitutional safeguards mentioned above and such other safeguards as may later be agreed on should be specifically provided for in the Constitution Act itself."[1]

C. CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR

Mr. W. V. Grigson, C.S.I., I.C.S., was placed on special duty from 1940 to 1942 to investigate the conditions of the aboriginal tribes of the Central Provinces and Berar, and a full report of his work can be found in "The Aboriginal Problem in the Central Provinces and Berar" (Government Press, Nagpur, 1944). In the report, Mr. Grigson has discussed all aspects of the problem of the aboriginals with a

thoroughness worthy of being copied by others. The Backward Area Welfare Scheme of that Government is given in a nut-shell in the following communication from the Additional Under Secretary to the Government of the Central Provinces and Berar.

BACKWARD AREA WELFARE SCHEME IN A NUT SHELL

The main idea with which the scheme has been designed is to bring about the educational, economic, physical, social and cultural uplift of the backward areas of the Province, the aboriginal population of which is about 30 lakhs. With this aim in view the Province has been divided into ten contiguous zones for administrative purposes with ten district organizers under each of whom there are two Circle Organizers. (*See* statement on the next page.)

EDUCATION

Educationally the backward areas are extremely loath to receive any education and it has been proposed to open primary schools especially designed for them with a curriculum modified to suit the aboriginal conditions. The boys will be given instructions in agriculture, cottage industries, gardening and handicrafts. It is also proposed to establish hostels for the backward boys and girls and scholarships will also be awarded to them. Arrangements for the mid-day refreshments for the boys and girls will also be made.

ECONOMIC WELFARE

With a view to raising the economic standard of the people and providing them with amenities of life, it is proposed to organize multipurpose co-operative societies for the Backward Classes. These societies will find market for the agricultural and forest produce in those areas and it is expected that these will better their economic condition.

MEDICAL AID, HEALTH AND HYGIENE

It is proposed that each school to be started under the plan will be provided with a medicine chest and the teachers in charge will be asked to dispense the medicines to the villages and look to the general health of the people and save them from the attacks of the epidemics with the help of the medical men. Similarly arrangements will also be made to ensure adequate supply of drinking water by digging wells and constructing tanks and to provide better means of communications.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL WELFARE WORK

In order to carry on activity for the social and cultural development of the backward people it is proposed to spread general knowledge through lectures and pictures on the screen, organize Bhajan Mandals, to start circulating libraries for villages, to arrange music parties and competitive games and dances with a view to afford facilities to them for the expression of their artistic interests. The programme of prohibition will also be undertaken in order to eradicate the habit of drinking that is prevalent among the tribals.

BACKWARD AREA WELFARE SCHEME

Planning Officer to the Government of Central Provinces and Berar

Ten District Organizers (in charge of 10 *zones).*

Twenty Circle Organizers (in charge of 40 circles).

	Name of zone.	Number of centres in each zone.	Number of villages in each centre.
1.	Mandla	4	25
2.	Bilaspur	4	25
3.	Raipur	4	25
4.	Saugor and Jubbulpore	4	25
5.	Hoshangabad and Nimar	4	25
6.	Chhindwara minus Lacknadon ..	4	25
7.	Betul, Amraoti, Akola and Buldana ..	4	25
8.	Chanda and Bhandara	4	25
9.	Nagpur, Wardha and Yeotmal	4	25
10.	Drug and Balaghat	4	25

(Total villages thus served will be about 1,000 in all in the first year and at the end of the fifth year the activities will extend to 5,000 villages.)

Estimate of expenditure.

	Items.	Per year per zone.		Areas.		Years.		
1.	Primary schools	5	×	10	×	5	=	250
2.	Multi-purpose co-operative societies	4	×	10	×	5	=	200
3.	Middle schools	1	×	10	×	5	=	50
4.	Hostels	1	×	10	×	5	=	50
5.	Wells	10	×	10	×	5	=	500
6.	Medicine chests	10	×	10	×	5	=	500
7.	Approach roads.	(As many as are needed with local and Government aid.)						
8.	Grants to local workers and institutions.	10,000	×	10	×	5	=	5 lakhs

9. Loans to the extent of Rs. 5 to 10 lakhs to multi-purpose societies and agricultural associations for business purposes.

Total expenses for five years will come to about Rs. 20 lakhs.

D. BOMBAY

The Government of Bombay appointed Mr. D. Symington, I.C.S., as Special Enquiry Officer to report upon the measures for the improvement of the conditions of Bhils, and other hill tribes of that Province. Mr. Symington's report was published in 1939. The chief recommendations of Mr. Symington are:

(1) The Government should provide funds for the post of a Backward Classes Officer with assistants who would be the Chief Executive Officers on the spot in each district and would be responsible for putting Government's policy and orders into effect. (The appointment of the Backward Classes Officer has already been made and an *ad hoc* Committee appointed to go into details of the scheme of work.)

(2) A Debt Composition Court should be appointed in each taluk to look into the claims made by creditors from aboriginal debtors.

(3) Teachers from the aboriginal communities should be recruited for aboriginal schools.

(4) All " new land " in Partially Excluded Areas should be reserved for the members of the Backward classes; and if there exists special reasons in any case for any departure from this policy, the sanction of Government should be obtained.

(5) To regulate money-lending, a licence should be prescribed for money-lending transactions, direct or indirect, with members of the Backward classes in the Partially Excluded Areas. Even Backward class members must take out such licences, as otherwise they will be employed as the tools of sowcars. It should be made a penal offence punishable with imprisonment as well as fine, to lend money or goods on interest to members of Backward classes in these areas except with a licence. To forestall evasion, the definition of the offence should be made to include transactions in which the borrower gives a receipt or a promissory note for an amount greater than that which he actually receives. The licence should be liable to forfeiture for breach of the regulations. Recoveries, both of the old and new debts, from members of the Backward classes in any other form except in cash should be prohibited and penalized.

Bombay has got a non-official agency known as " The Bhil Seva Mandal " doing social work among the Bhils. Similar work is done in the Central Provinces by the " Gond Seva Mandal ".

APPENDIX IV

INQUIRY INTO THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITION OF ABORIGINAL AND BACKWARD TRIBES IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Who are the tribes or communities that may be properly described as either aboriginal or backward?

2. The areas inhabited by them and population in each area. (Give geographical position of the village or gudem or tanda.)

3. The present means of livelihood and their economic condition—

(*a*) Average income per individual—

(i) If daily wages, number of days when such remunerative work is available; and

(ii) if seasonal, what the supplemental source of income is?

(*b*) Their indebtedness and the agency through which credit is obtained and the terms on which it is given.

(*c*) Their habits—uneconomic ones, if any. Are they addicted to drinking or any other evil?

(*d*) Any indigenous handicrafts and the market for their products.

(*e*) Agriculture—methods employed and crops raised. If marketed, through what agency?

(*f*) Can the methods employed in agriculture at present, e.g., Podu or Kumri cultivation, be improved upon?—Shifting cultivation has sometimes been condemned but there is a view that such cultivation can proceed usefully alongside of active forest regeneration.

(*g*) Are all these people tenant cultivators? Who is their landlord and what are the terms of tenancy? Are there any undue exactions?

(*h*) Cattle owned and their condition. The state of pasture available in the vicinity.

(*i*) Steps taken by Governmental and private agencies to better their conditions, if any; and the extent to which such measures have been successful.

(*j*) Housing conditions—suggest suitable types of houses.

4. Land and other natural resources existing in each locality and extent to which the tribe or community is benefited by it already.

5. Exploitation by plainsmen, merchants and money-lenders.

6. Medical and public health facilities—
(*a*) (i) Availability of medical aid through Government or other agencies;
(ii) incidence of malaria, pneumonia, yaws, etc.
(*b*) Prevalence of venereal diseases. Are any indigenous treatments resorted to? If so, their efficacy.
(*c*) Extent to which indigenous medical aid has been useful and the attitude of the tribesmen or communities to medical assistance of the allopathic type.
(*d*) Maternity facilities afforded by the Government or any indigenous facilities available.

7. Literacy—
(*a*) Number of literates in the population.
(*b*) The languages spoken and whether they are written in any script.
(*c*) Are there any schools? Give the total number of children of school-going age, i.e., between 7 and 14 years and the number who actually attend the schools now.
(*d*) Any special artistic tastes exhibited by the tribe or community—music, chiefly wind and percussion instruments, dance; carving on wood and stones, etc.

8. Prevalence of insanitary habits, e.g., eating carrion, pythons, etc.
Taboos regarding food, if any

9. Existence of—
(*a*) untouchability; and
(*b*) inter-tribal untouchability.

10. Marriage customs—Polyandry or polygamy; dowry, divorce and widow re-marriage practices.

11. The amount of social sense prevailing. Existence of any inhuman methods of punishing anti-social elements.

12. Criminal propensities, if any. Are these apparent only when the tribes come into contact with others?

13. Whether any prevalent custom or habit deserves to be interfered with. The possible reactions of tribesmen to such interference.

14. Gaming rights and rights to the access and use of forest produce.

15. Religion—Modes of worship and superstitions, if any, that affect their economic and social well-being.

16. The extent to which Proselytisation by Christians or other missionaries has been done

17. Communications—Will improved communication benefit the tribes?

18. (*a*) The administrative machinery that you consider will be most conducive to the well-being of the tribes.

(*b*) Can they be brought under ordinary administration without injury to their well-being and to the maintenance of the good that is in them?

(*c*) Are there any indigenous panchayats or other institution—e.g., headman, nattamaikaran, kula pedda, patel, nayak, etc.—who hold sway over the community? Do they function beneficially to the community? Can they be availed of towards the amelioration of the community? Are they hereditary or elective?

19. What measures you would suggest to ameliorate their conditions?

APPENDIX V

SUMMARY OF THE WYNAAD COLONIZATION SCHEME.

The Wynaad Colonization Scheme aims at settling a total number of 2,500 to 3,000 families in the colony; the area of the entire colony is 31,001 acres (24,272 acres Government dry land, 4,057 acres Government wet and 2,675 acres private wet), and comprises the villages of Kidanganad, Nulpuzha, Muppainad and Nenmini in South Wynaad (part only in some cases). The number of colonists given above has been estimated on the basis that, on an average, each colonist will get approximately 10 acres of land in all after allowing lands for various public amenities, village-sites, etc. But the principle regarding the allotment of land is that a colonist will be allotted by the Co-operative Society on the hire purchase system either 2 acres of wet and 5 acres of dry land or 15 acres of dry land. For purposes of allotment of land, a unit of family consists of 5 members, which number is taken into account also in the case of allotment to joint families consisting of more than 5 members. The total cost of the scheme, as worked out at present, is Rs. 42·43 lakhs non-recurring and Rs. 3 lakhs recurring.

The basis of distribution of lands among the different categories of colonists will be as follows:—

	PER CENT.
Ex-servicemen	62½
Existing owners and sivaijamadars ...	25
Other civilians of Malabar	12½

A colonist will be given by the Co-operative Society, if required, an advance of Rs. 3,600 in all towards cost of construction of a house, cost of seeds, manure, etc., land reclamation charges and domestic expenditure, which is repayable in 20 years, the first instalment commencing from the sixth year from the year of his settlement in the colony. He will get the right of ownership to the property after 25 years in all, but, he will have to relinquish the land to the Co-operative Society which allots lands and advances money, if he wishes to leave the colony. Each colonist will be allotted lands in varying altitudes in order to enable him to raise food as well as commercial crops and plantations both for his family consumption and for marketing. The average net income of a colonist is estimated at Rs. 500 in the sixth year and Rs. 1,000 in subsequent years. Some special plantations like cinchona, pyrethrum, etc., are reserved as Government monopolies.

For the benefit of the colonists the opening of an agricultural farm comprising an area of 108·4 acres made up of 18·4 acres of wet, 25 acres of dry and 15 acres of forest lands, at a cost of Rs. 97,130 non-recurring and Rs. 49,576 recurring has been sanctioned. Steps for the eradication of malaria have already been taken up and the work is progressing.

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* References to these tribes in Part I of the Report are not given.
† Figures refer to pages.